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Nazarbayev Addresses Antinuclear Meeting in Almaty

LD3008113993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1129 GMT 30 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Feodor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty August 30 TASS—President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan appealed to the governments of all nuclear powers to prolong until the year 2005 the moratorium on testing nuclear, chemical, biological and other kinds of mass annihilation weapons.

He was speaking to participants in an international anti-nuclear forum in Almaty.

Nazarbayev said Kazakhstan used to be a nuclear testing site for all republics of the former Soviet Union but now it is left alone to deal single-handedly with the problem of social insurance to people who had suffered from the tests. Historically, morally and ecologically it is not fair, Nazarbayev said. Continuance of obligations assumed before the people cannot be lifted, particularly from politicians.

Kazakhstan needs technological, engineering and ecological assistance from the countries which have amassed experience in the field. Another pressing problem is what to do with plutonium from dismantled warheads. The problem must be solved in conformity with international agreements.

"We believe that Kazakhstan, Ukraine and Belarus must take part in discussing a comprehensive agreement on banning tests of any mass destruction weapons on a par with Russia and other nuclear countries.

Nazarbayev said Kazakhstan was ready to put forth an initiative for compiling a single global register of all people afflicted by radiation from nuclear blasts and atomic incidents. He said the World Health Organisation and international ecological organisations could undertake the job.

Speaking about the effect of nuclear testing on the Chinese testing site Lop-Nor not far from the border with Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev noted that there was a vast field for cooperation in cleaning-up the after-effects of nuclear blasts in the interests of the two peoples with the participation of Chinese and Kazakh scientists and business communities.

Participants in the congress spoke in favour of establishing an international fund under the U.N. aegis to help people in territories affected by effects of nuclear tests. All nuclear countries must become the fund's members, they said.

Concern Over Chinese Testing

LD3108225493 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received]—An international antinuclear congress began its work in Almaty on 30 August. Attending it are representatives of antinuclear movements of foreign countries. [passage omitted]

President Nursultan Nazarbayev addressed the participants of the congress. He said that the nuclear test at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site on 29 August 1949 opened a new page in the history of Kazakhstan. Inhuman nuclear tests, which were carried out for many years, caused severe economic, cultural, and social consequences. [passage omitted]

Nursultan Nazarbayev said that with the closure of the nuclear test site, Kazakhstan's parliament and government adopted decisions on eliminating the aftermath of nuclear tests and improving the environment along with experts of the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement. For the first time in the history of the republic, such attention is paid to people's security. However we don't think that we will manage to deal with this problem without international support.

Kazakhstan, first of all, needs technological, engineering, and ecological help from the countries that have such experience. A deep socio-ecological expert inquiry into such projects and programs, including at the international level, would not be superfluous. This could more quickly remove the radiation phobia which has gripped our population and a certain ignorance in these matters.

Addressing those attending the congress Nursultan Nazarbayev stressed that we must not allow pessimism and social hopelessness to escalate. The president noted that various demands for solving ecological problems will not replace concrete work in this area. The president went on to say that we have to bury radioactive waste in our territory. Scholars and engineers together with representatives of the public should find the optimum draft project, from the point of view of safety. So far there is not a single facility in Kazakhstan which can ensure safety control over radioactive waste.

The problem of using the nuclear warheads' plutonium is also important for the republic. It should be solved in accordance with international treaties. [passage omitted]

Touching upon the socio-ecological aftermath of nuclear tests, Nursultan Nazarbayev noted that scholars and officials openly talk only about quantity, location, and types of nuclear tests. But the question should be formulated more broadly. Full comprehensive ecological assessment of the impact of the nuclear tests on the environment and the population should be carried out. With this aim in mind an authoritative international commission (similar to the one set up after Chernobyl) should be established.

The president expressed the readiness of Kazakhstan to initiate the creation of a common global register with the names of all those who have suffered from nuclear tests. This work could have been carried out by the WHO and international ecological organizations. Mankind still bears enormous losses as a result of nuclear tests. In particular, we are concerned by the ecological effects of nuclear explosions at the Chinese Lop Nor test site. Scientific circles are concerned at the aftermath of Lop Nor on our nature and the health of the people. Nursultan Nazaarbayev believes in this regard that a broad field for cooperation arises on eliminating the effects of these tests in the interests of the peoples of our countries. Chinese and Kazakhstan scientists and business circles could by joint efforts substantially improve the condition of this region, for radiation knows no frontiers. Moreover, it is important to seek out together effective forms of cooperation and to avoid extremist and unsanctioned actions which could inflict harm on the noble efforts of the anti-nuclear movement.

The president stated that for Kazakhstan radio-ecological safety is most important in the overall system of priorities of ecological safety. [passage omitted]

Nursultan Nazarbayev supported the initiative of the anti-nuclear movement for devising a programme "Reviving the Earth and Man" which outstrips certain state scientific projects in the problems of radio-ecological safety and rehabilitating victims, and in developing problems relating to the ecological status of social protection zones for victims. He expressed confidence that in the end the movement will achieve its aim—a total ban on all kinds of tests for atomic and other types of weapons. [passage omitted]

Central Asian Republics Join Asia Development Bank

PM3108100793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Aug 93 First Edition p 6

[Untitled news column report under the "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow" rubric]

[Text] The headquarters of the Asia Development Bank, located in Manila, has officially reported that the bank has accepted three former Soviet Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan—as new members.

Henceforth these states will have the right to use loans granted by the Asia Development Bank to developing countries to carry out all kinds of economic programs.

Experts Prepare Meeting on Asian Cooperation

LD3108211693 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—A second meeting of experts of Asiatic countries on preparing a conference on cooperation and confidence-building measures in Asia at the level of foreign ministers opened its work on 30 August. Attending it are representatives of 23 countries, the United nations, CSCE, Arab League, and Islamic Conference Organization.

Opening the meeting, Republican Minister of Foreign Affairs Tuleutay Suleymenov said that it is being held at the initiative of the Government of Kazakhstan. The idea of creating in Asia a system for preventing conflicts by strengthening confidence-building measures between the states is finding more and more advocates.

Countries of the region are equally interested in ensuring long and durable peace and stability as an important condition for their economic and cultural progress, and in strengthening their statehood on the principles of democracy and law. In connection with this, the conference on cooperation and confidence-building measures in Asia will play an exceptional role in the world's progress.

First Deputy Foreign Minister Kasymzhmart Tokayev set out in his speech the main directions for future activities of the conference on confidence-building measures.

The discussion which followed was proof of the participants' great interest in the meeting. They have gathered together to elaborate the main documents for the conference, the agenda, and proceedings for the conference of the ministers of foreign affairs. The meeting of experts is continuing its work.

Baltic Presidents' Statement on Trade Agreements

WS3008142693 Riga LETA in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 30 (LETA)—We, the first constitutionally elected post-war presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, having met in Riga to discuss the integration of the Baltic countries as the first step for an integration of the Baltic countries in the European Community;

On the strength of the tripartite treaty of concord and cooperation signed on September 12, 1934, the first joint declaration of May 12, 1990, and the resolution of June 6, 1990;

Welcome the Copenhagen European Council decisions to develop the existing trade agreements between the three Baltic states and the European Community into free trade agreements and express our readiness to conclude such agreements without delay;

Affirm that we are unanimous in our endeavor to promote further cooperation, and stressing that integration into the European Community has to be preceded by integration of the Baltic states among themselves, embracing the states' economic foreign and security policies, unification of legislation, and extension of cooperation at the level of political parties and local authorities;

Underline our commitment to closer cooperation between our countries, paving the way of further political and economic cooperation and full integration with the European Communities regard as priority task the advancement of a shared energy system especially concerning the supply of natural gas and electricity with a view to connecting it with respective networks of northern and central Europe.

[Signed] Lennart Meri, president, Republic of Estonia
Guntis Ulmanis, president, Republic of LAtvia
Algirdas Brazauskas, president, republic of Lithuania
[Dated] Jurmala, 27 August, 1993

Statement on Security, Stability

WS3008142793 Riga LETA in English 1130 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Riga, August 30 (LETA)—We, the first constitutionally elected post-war presidents of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania met in Jurmala to discuss the situation which has developed in relations between the Baltic states and the Russian Federation.

For over one year the Baltic states have had negotiations with Russia to reach agreements on an early, orderly and complete withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states in accordance with the CSCE Helsinki document 1992.

During these negotiations the Baltic states have presented constructive proposals and have repeatedly looked for solutions to difficulties related to the withdrawal of Russian troops from their territories. However no meaningful progress has been achieved in the bilateral negotiations between the Russian Federation and either Estonia or Latvia.

We are concerned with the recent decision by the Russian Federation to halt the withdrawal of its troops from Lithuania.

Sharing responsibility for security and stability in the Baltic Sea area, we, the presidents of the Baltic states, would welcome Russian readiness to sign agreements on the withdrawal of its troops, including timetables and final dates, with Estonia and Latvia, in accordance with the United Nations General Assembly resolution 47/21 and the CSCE Helsinki document 1992.

[Signed] Lennart Meri, president, Republic of Estonia
Guntis Ulmanis, president, Republic of Latvia
Algirdas Brazauskas, president, Republic of Lithuania
[Dated] Jurmala, 27 August, 1993

Brazauskas Comments on Jurmala Meeting

WS3108070493 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1026 GMT 30 Aug 93

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 319]

[Text] Vilnius, August 29 (ELTA)—The meeting between the three Baltic presidents has given a momentum to our further cooperation, said Algirdas Brazauskas after returning from the meeting in Jurmala on August 27. We face no principle disagreements and we clearly understand interests of our countries, he emphasized. In Lithuanian President's opinion, the first results of this meeting will be a signing a trilateral free trade agreement in Tallinn on September 13 and easement of the border regime the nearest time. He also called attention on a very fruitful work of the three prime ministers in Jurmala which defined priorities of the cooperation between the three countries. President was saying that Lithuania submitted an organizational model of cooperation between the Baltic states. It must embody all three authority levels - presidential, parliamentary and governmental in order to resemble the structure of the Council of Europe, indicated Algirdas Brazauskas. The head of the State drew attention on the importance of the question about compensation for the damage caused to all three Baltic countries, "therefore opinion of well-known experts of international organizations", he said.

Pyankov Preparing Tajikistan Proposals for CIS Summit

PM3008155593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Pelts report from the "From Our News Bureau" roundup: "Colonel General Boris Pyankov Flies to Dushanbe"]

[Text] The deputy commander in chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces, recommended for the post of commander of the coalition forces in Tajikistan, intends to investigate the situation at first hand and to prepare specific proposals for the upcoming September meeting of Commonwealth heads of state.

As we know, terms for offering aid to Tajikistan, including military aid, will be discussed at the meeting.

Leads Delegation to Tajikistan

LD3108151893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1341 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By KHOVAR information agency correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe August 31 TASS—A CIS military delegation headed by Colonel-General Boris Pyankov, deputy commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth Allied Forces, arrived in Tajikistan today to settle the matters connected with the creation of the coalition defence forces on the territory of the republic.

The necessity of the creation of such forces had been voiced at the recent meeting of the defence ministers of the states signatories to the treaty on collective security.

Nazarbayev Meets With Karimov, Akayev

LD3108203393 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Excerpt] During his working visit to Kokchetav Oblast, President Nursultan Nazarbayev held talks with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov and Kyrgyzstan President Askar Akayev. It is a rule of diplomacy that the first leaders of the countries should meet more frequently. This ensures greater understanding, benefits relations, and improves business cooperation between the countries.

This probably explains why the speed of integration between Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan has increased of late, as well as their timely support for one another. Another example of this is the assistance rendered by our Kyrgyz and Uzbek friends in Kazakhstan's harvesting campaign. Uzbekistan, for example, has sent 2,000 trucks and 1,500 combine operators to the virgin land areas.

It is natural that each country will first pursue its own interests. At the meeting, Islam Karimov spoke about the amount of Kazakhstan's harvest that Uzbekistan intends to purchase. It came to a figure of 3 million tonnes, and a quarter of a million tonnes will be imported by Kyrgyzstan.

The leaders of the republics have agreed that Kazakhstan will sell grain to the sides involved on a preferential basis: Half will be paid in Russian rubles and half in hard currency.

It is important, of course, that our republic is no worse off for it. Taking into account the fact that our republic buys from its neighbors large amounts of gas, certain discounts have been arranged in mutual accounts and this in turn will make it possible to save a great deal of hard currency funds.

Speaking to villagers of the Shalkarskiy settlement, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Islam Karimov, and Askar Akayev emphasized the need to strengthen fraternal relations. The Kazakh president stressed in particular that 350-400 years ago, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Kyrgyzs belonged to the common nation. We should not ignore the fact that having common roots, we are "doomed," in the good sense of the word by history to live in peace. As good friends we should share our concerns and delights. The more so, since in the vast area covered by the three republics 50 million people of different nationalities live. The area is rich in natural resources and valuable production potential. All these factors taken together gives our people an opportunity to successfully overcome the current crisis, to achieve production growth, and to raise the living standards of the population. [passage omitted]

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 31 Aug

LD3108053693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0448 GMT 31 Aug 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Today's Russian newspapers report the results of a referendum in Azerbaijan. "The referendum in Azerbaijan: Elchibey's Defeat," writes NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT newspaper). Commenting on the outcome of the nationawide plebiscite, the newspaper emphasises that "the opposition, without giving specific facts, asserts that the results of the polling have been falsified."

TRUD, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), and PRAVDA point out that President Elchibey's defeat signifies a setback of the policy of the popular front to which the people have denied trust.

The problems of the Russian school on the eve of the beginning of the new school year are examined in PRAVDA by Margarita Leontyeva, senior official at the Ministry of Education. "The Russian school did not succumb to dislocation" due to the teachers' bigheartedness and selflessness, she told the newspaper.

Speaking about innovations in the instructional process, Leontyeva said the teacher hs now given every opportunity for the creative quest, differentiation, and variation of education—through contents and a set of various types of school manuals.

TRUD maintains that "strain still persists in relations between the government that denied financing to the

public education sector, and the personnel of secondary and higher learning establishments who receive meagre salaries".

The newspaper writes that the threat of educationalists' strike on September 1 has been eliminated. The reconciliation commission sat down at the negotiating table on August 27 with a view to working out a solution which would be acceptable to both the government and the education workers.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reveals the secret of "Ossetian weaponry." The newspaper describes how Ossetian forces, which played a decisive role in the Ossetian-ingush conflict, had been provided with armaments. The newsppaer quotes Issa Kostoyev, the Russian president's representative in Ingushetia, as saying that shortly before the conflict broke out armament had been turned over to the Ossetian side by Russian Army units. This had been done on an instruction from the then Premier Yegor Gaydar after a confidential conversation between South Ossetian Parliament Chief Akhsarbek Galazov and Boris Yeltsin.

The first session of the organising committee of a congress of the peoples of the Soviet Union has been held in Moscow to determine a programme of action to prepare the congress, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reports.

The newspaper carries an interview with Oleg Shenin, one of the co-chairmanen of the organising committee, chairman of the political council of the UCP-CPSU Union of Communist Parties, who told the newspaper about the goals and tasks of this congress which "has become a powerful impetus towards the creation of a vigorous, really countrywide movement for the restoration of the alliance of peoples and a single federative state."

"The civilian personnel of the army and navy are in straitened circumstances. Urgent measures are necessary," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA points out. This was the leading idea during a meeting between Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and members of the Executive Committee of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Workers and Employees of the Armed Forces, the newsparer reports.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes that the plight of the workers and employees of military units, enterprises, institutions and organisations which are under the defence ministry's authority is no secret to anyone. Tens of thousands of workers and employees of the armed forces receive salaries which are below Russia's monthly average and the necessary consumer basket.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA runs an analytical article by Vladimir Skachko about the activities of the government of Ukraine. "This government is to last for only two to three days," Skachko writes, quoting a statement made in parliament by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma. "The main reason for the Leonid Kuchma government's fiasco is that it was formed on the basis of a political compromise as a 'fire brigade' to resolve urgent purely economic problems. However, the government ministers for political reasons have been unable to perform their functions to the full," Skachko observes.

Reviews 31 Aug IZVESTIYA

LD3108194493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1812 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The IZVESTIYA evening issue focused on today's visit of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the Tamanskaya and Kantemirovskaya Divisions and the 116th Paraborne Regiment stationed in the Moscow region. In the newspaper's words, the president decided to listen to the military on the eve of September rush days.

An IZVESTIYA article with the theme "Captured Border Guards Returned To Continue Service at Their Border Posts" says the capture of a Kazakh officer and four Russian border guards on August 10 was not an accidental action of "uncontrolled" bandit units, but a deliberate operation supervised from Afghan territory.

In IZVESTIYA's opinion, the border guards "played the role of a peacemaking card in political games of Kabul and Tajikistan".

The newspaper carries an article by Russian Minister of Fuel and Energy Yuriy Shafranik with a title "We Will Not Be Rich Until We Start To Save Energy".

The country continues a wasteful life despite its poverty, says the minister. Russia uses twice more energy than the United States and thrice than Western Europe to produce a product item. In Shafranik's opinion, Russia must switch over from energy-consuming to energy-saving course, and possibilities in this respect are rather broad.

Analyzing the situation in western Georgia, IZVESTIYA correspondent Besik Urigashlivi says the threat of direct clashes between the Georgian government troops and units of supporters of ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia has become almost irreversible. The affair will, probably, come to a head after Georgian troops and materiel are brought from Abkhazia to the port of Poti.

In any case, another ruinous blow will be hit on the Georgian statehood.

IZVESTIYA carriers an article by specialist from the Center for Political and Economic Studies Vladimir Grishchenko, dwelling on a Russian Government decision to raise purchase prices on grain of the new harvest. The specialist says the state is already buying grain at world prices on the domestic market.

In his opinion, the government decision is a victory of the agrarian lobby, a most powerful and influential in Europe. If the government further yields to blackmail, Russia will live by begging, he said.

IZVESTIYA reports the cost of consumer basket in various Russian cities, referring to information of the economic situation center under the Russian Government.

The Far Eastern region, including the cities of Magadan, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy, is the Russian leader in prices on 19 major foodstuffs. Prices are the lowest in the Volga region, including the cities of Ulyanovsk, Kazan and Naberezhnyye Chelny.

Moscow holds the 28th place and St. Petersburg—the 36th in the list of 70 Russian cities under control.

An appeal of the Russian parliament committee on mass media to the Ministry of Press on allocations for several editions has been received by IZVESTIYA editor's office. IZVESTIYA calls attention to the fact the allocations are requested for newspapers, which continue to describe the Russian Government as occupational and betrayer of interests of the motherland: PRAVDA, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, RUS DERZHAVNAYA and DEN.

Press Review for 1 Sep

LD0109053193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0446 GMT 1 Sep 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Today's newspapers in their morning editions highlight the tour of forces and units of the Moscow military district by Russian President Boris Yeltsin who was accompanied by Defence Minister Pavel Grachev.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR), referring to a statement by the Russian defence minister, announces a decision by Yeltsin as the supreme commander-in-chief of the Russian armed forces to spend one day a month with the troops, because reports by the minister and district commanders do not satisfy to the full his desire to be the master of the situation in the army and navy.

The newspaper notes in particular his words that a military doctrine, the preparation of which has already been completed, is to be adopted at the earliest session of Russia's security council.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and TRUD run brief accounts of the president's tour of military units. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA notes that Yeltsin was pleased with the training standards and combat readiness of troops.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER) singles out the president's words that "the army has long overcome the phychological shock" which had been brought about by the break-up of the Soviet Union, and that the army is now "a powerful, organised and disciplined" force.

The newspaper points out that Yeltsin's military occupation speciality is a tankman, which he revealed in a talk to journalists after visiting the Taman division. He added that he knows military hardware well, since his previous "work involved contacts with military factories in the Urals."

PRAVDA is ironic about pronouncements by Ukrainian Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov who pointed out in particular that it is important to take into account Germany's experience in the creation of its own armed forces.

The newspaper maintains that it is no longer any surprise to people in Ukraine that to Morozov the great patriotic war has long become synonymous to the entire second world war. "Germany's experience is of importance to Morozov because, he argues, "developing contacts with the Federal Republic of Germany, we thereby establish close contacts with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, touching upon the Russian president's recently circulated statement about armed conflicts points out that in this connection he expressed the need to create an effective international judicature and an international procurator's office. The newspaper notes the president's proposal to establish a system for the international community to be able to monitor and quickly react to breaches of military law.

Under the headline "peacekeeping costs a lot. But renunciation of peacekeeping would be by far more costly," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an article by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

Experience shoes that "economising" on peacekeeping or lack of attention to this national cause, not just departmental one, only proves the legitimacy of the saying that "misers" money goes twice to market", the article says. In any case, the maintenance of peace is cheaper than war. The newspaper singles out Kozyrev's words that whether it is bad or not but at some flashpoints Russia has been and remains the only force capable of disengaging the warring sides and bringing them to the negotiating table.

A number of newspapers cover Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's current official visit to the United States. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, in particualr, writes that the visit, during which the prime minister discusses matters connected with petroleum and space research, "is proceeding successfully and is yielding fruit."

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA frontpages an account of Tuesday's meeting between Kozyrev and U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in the Palace of

Nations. After the meeting the U.N. chief referred to the meetins as a quite constructive one, pointing out Russia's readiness, reaffirmed by the minister, to enhance its role in the efforts to resolve the Bosnian conflict.

The newspaper also runs the full text of a letter addressed to Boris Yeltsin by former Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov who argues in particular that it was the Ministry of Defence, not the Security Ministry, that was to blame for the well-known tragedy on the Afghan-Tajik border.

PRAVDA carries an interview with President Radovan Karadzic of the Republic of Serbia, emphasising his words that the destiny of Europe is being decided in the Balkans.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gives News Briefing 31 Aug

Prefers 'Pan-European Space' to NATO

LD3108141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The joining of NATO or any other organisation by central or east European countries is the sovereign right of every state, but Russia would prefer the creation of a pan-European space instead of increasing isolated blocs, according to a Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"We would like that while deciding on that (joining NATO) the whole complex of problems of European politics is taken into consideration", Mikhail Demurin told reporters on Tuesday [31 August].

"A more correct way would be to construct a single panEuropean space which would allow nobody to feel isolated rather than to fill in the vacuum of security in several European regions by increasing the closed blocs which we inherited from the past", he added.

Views Relations With Lithuania

LD3108141393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1218 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Relations between Russia and Lithuania are back to normal, and the sides intend to proceed in this way, Mikhail Demurin, deputy director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's department of the press and information, told a briefing on Tuesday [31 August]. An extensive and open telephone conversation between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas took place on August 30. A telephone conversation between Brazauskas and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev took place on the same day in extention [as received] to fundamental arrangements reached by the presidents.

"We believe this fact is characteristic of the essence of the Russian policy regarding Baltic countries", Demurin said. "There are snags when unjustifiable or clearly exaggerated demands are made on Russia. But whenever Russia receives a positive signal from a partner, it responds without delay", he said. Demurin said Russia wants a normal conduct of a partner acceptable in present-day relations. Such is Russia's line in the Baltics. Russian President Boris Yeltsin actively participates in shaping and implementing this line.

Welcomes Afghanistan Releasing Guards

LD3108115093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatc correspondents]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Russia welcomed the release of four Russian and one Kazakh border guards seized early in August by Afghan mojahedin on the border with Tajikistan, Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told reporters on Tuesday [31 August]

He added that such actions should not reoccur.

"Today when the border guards have returned and face no danger we believe it necessary to state once again that the repetition of such actions in future is inadmissible no matter under which pretext they are staged", Demurin stressed.

Notes Progress in Arab-Israeli Talks

LD3108142393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1311 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—A regular round of Arab-Israeli negotiations to begin today in Washington is expected to be efficient and witness considerable progress in essential aspects, which may have a positive influence on the whole Middle East settlement, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told a briefing here Tuesday [31 August].

The official described as "the most promising" the Israeli-Palestinian aspect and expressed the hope that positive changes in relations between Israel and Palestinians will be logically developed during the 11th round of negotiations, and agreements reached in this respect will help the implementation of national rights of the Palestinian people and ensure an early achievement of peace and security in the Middle East.

Calls Nigerian Transition 'Incomplete'

LD3108163093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1329 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The official withdrawal of the military from the Nigerian political scene can be viewed as another step towards a democratic system in that state, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Demurin told a briefing here today.

However, it should be stated that "the country's transition to a civilian leadership on the basis of popular will is incomplete. According to reports from Nigeria, the completion of this process has been postponed again, and terms of new elections have not been specified".

Russia, as well as other members of the international community, fears "fragile shoots of democracy may lack vitality if they are not protected by joint efforts of the civil and military authorities." Moscow favors "the soonest settlement of current difficulties and consolidation of fundamentals of a genuinely democratic system in Nigeria with respect to the free choice of the people," he said.

Views Events in Haiti

LD3108162193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1217 GMT 31 Aug 93

[by ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Sergey Ryabikin, Sergeyi Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS - The decision of the U.N. Security Council to suspend sanctions against Haiti was received with satisfaction in Moscow. This has become possible as a result of vigorous efforts of international organisations aimed at the development and consolidation of democratic processes in Haiti, Deputy Director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Department for Information and the Press, Mikhail Demurin, told a briefing on Tuesday [31 August].

"Making this decision, the U.N [illegible]rity Council sends a clear signal to other states [illegible]ich sanctions are imposed that the fastest way to the sanctions' lifting is full and honest fulfilment of demands of the international community represented by the Security Council," Demurin said.

Kozyrev Attends Geneva Conference on War Victims

Agenda Previewed

PM3108153993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 3

[Konstantin Eggert report: "Problems of War Victims Will Be Discussed in Switzerland"]

[Text] The International Conference on Problems of Protecting War Victims, which has been convened on the initiative of Switzerland, begins 31 August in Geneva. Russia is being represented at this forum by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

"Moscow believes that the international community should tackle three main tasks: Provide an opportunity to use the basic norms of international law to resolve internal and primarily ethno-religious conflicts; increase protection for the civilian population; and get a ban imposed on the main sorts of inhuman acts," an informed diplomat from Kozyrev's entourage told IZVESTIYA.

The Russian minister intends to note in particular the need for the following measures: A ban on the use of aviation and missiles in internal conflicts; a lengthening of the list of civilian installations that it is considered criminal to attack; and protection for religious and cultural treasures and the creation in this connection of an institution of special commissioners for cultural heritage under the auspices of the UNESCO. In addition, Kozyrev will promote the idea of extending international protection to peacekeeping forces and elaborating a comprehensive summary of military crimes.

The head of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry intends to meet with the Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Sadako Ogata, UN high commissioner for refugees.

Proposes Humanitarian Initiative

LD3108155093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1340 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today addressed the international conference on the protection of war victims, which is taking place in Geneva. Viktor Levin, our observer, is there. He will give us details about this conference. Hello, Viktor Nikolayevich.

[Levin] Good afternoon. In his address, Andrey Kozyrev stressed that the main thing is to strengthen and guarantee the principles of humanitarian law and to aim for them becoming obligatory not just for states but for the sides involved in civil wars and interethnic conflicts.

A specific proposal on this has been put forward in a document circulated at the conference: the Russian humanitarian initiative. This initiative boils down to the following: Russia proposes protecting the civilian population from the indiscriminate effect of weapons and completely banning the use of bombing aircraft, missiles, rocket and artillery projectiles, incendiary weapons, mines and traps in internal conflicts. Incidently, a proposal on banning the export of antipersonnel mines is also being examined. It was France that put forward this idea. Thus, the idea is being expanded. But I will continue with putting forward the Russian humanitarian initiative.

The initiative also envisions extending the list of civilian facilities on which attacks are forbidden in conditions of internal conflicts; protecting religious and cultural objects of value; extending international protection to cover peacekeeping forces, humanitarian aid convoys, and transportation for refugees; ensuring the inevitability of punishment for individuals violating the norms of humanitarian law; and forming a global and regional system for monitoring whether the rights of victims of armed conflicts are being observed. By the way, in an interview to the local press—the Swiss press—Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev said it would be worth holding a conference in Russia, maybe before the end of the year, which would work on the formation of this global and regional system for monitoring whether the rights of victims of armed conflicts are being observed.

Of course, one must not build illusions and think that by adopting these proposals all brutalities will disappear.

Deputy Defense Minister Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, who is part of the Russian delegation at the Geneva conference on the protection of war victims, told me that one must not delude oneself. The hate that has flared up during the conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union was much too great. But the proposals included in the Russian humanitarian initiative have much significance since they offer certain prospects. Our army, the general stressed, in the Dniester region and other regions, has done and is doing much to stamp out hate and we, the military, will continue this work.

Anatoliy Pristavkin, a writer and chairman of the commission for pardoning issues under the president of the Russian Federation [komissiya po voprosam pomilovaniyu pri prezidente Rossiyskoy Federatsiya], who is also in the Russian delegation, said in a conversation with me that the Russian humanitarian initiative is extremely necessary and it might have been even better if it had been put forward earlier. My childhood, Pristavkin said, was determined by interethnic conflicts in the North Caucasus and I know from first hand how awful this is. Curbing hate and protecting civilians—these are the tasks that the Russian humanitarian initiative has set and the tasks that are being discussed at the international conference on protection of war victims in Geneva.

Promises More Troops for Bosnia

LD3108170293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has informed UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali that Russia is ready to send additional troops to take part in UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia if agreement is reached on a peace settlement in the republic. He said this at the Geneva headquarters of the United Nations, where talks on ending the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina have resumed.

Kozyrev Article on International Peacekeeping Role

PM3108163193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 3

[Article by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: "Peacekeeping Costs a Good Deal. But Abandoning It Is Even More Costly"]

[Text] Armed conflicts arising from interethnic enmity pose the main threat to international peace and security nowadays, and settling them has become one of the main problems in world politics. A peacekeeping capability increasingly determines a state's role and prestige in international affairs.

It is by no means from charitable motives that Russia has found itself the epicenter of peacekeeping activity in the former USSR, as well as in Yugoslavia. Recent events on the Tajik-Afghan border have once again demonstrated how closely interwoven the interests of settling these conflicts are with the vital interests of our country's security and that of its citizens.

Russia saw the aggressive nationalism behind the "new generation" of local wars before everyone else and began to amass experience in the difficult business of overcoming these wars. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the international community by trial and error is only embarking on resolving the tasks of putting an end to the bloodshed. Meanwhile in a number of conflict zones in the former USSR this task has already been resolved with Russia's mediation and things are moving on to the next stage—the quest for a wide-ranging settlement.

For good or ill, in some "hot spots" Russia was and still is the only force capable of separating the warring parties and bringing them to the negotiating table.

The truce in the Dniester Region and South Ossetia has lasted over a year now. Hostilities in Abkhazia have been stopped. And if the peace process is progressing in the Balkans it is largely thanks to the consistent efforts of Russian diplomacy.

Our country's role as a prestigious peacekeeping force is increasingly being recognized by the world community. In its special rulings on Abkhazia and Tajikistan the UN Security Council welcomed Russia's aid in achieving a settlement in these conflict zones. UN circles point out that peacekeeping in the former USSR is enriching the international practice of peacekeeping operations. In particular, the practice of enlisting subunits from the conflicting parties, along with Russian contingents, in the peacekeeping forces was used for the first time in the Dniester Region and South Ossetia. The agreements on a settlement in Abkhazia are based on a similar approach.

Peacekeeping goes beyond armchair politics and is becoming a practical sphere that requires special knowledge, effort, and considerable financial and technical resources. In the first half of this year alone almost $500 million was spent on UN operations in the former Yugoslavia. By the end of the year this sum may have reached $1 billion.

The scale of the peacekeeping operations within the CIS is also on the increase. Around 10,000 Russian servicemen are now taking part in these operations—and that is before the operation involving coalition defense forces begins in Tajikistan, and if you add civilian specialists, this number would be far greater.

The cost of the peacekeeping efforts rises as soon as they transfer from the negotiating room to the combat zone. Supervising the implementation of cease-fire terms, separating the warring parties, creating security zones and humanitarian corridors, guarding vitally important

installations, providing humanitarian aid, and supervising its unimpeded delivery to the population—that is a far from complete list of the tasks performed by those involved in peacekeeping operations in conflict zones.

The logic of peacekeeping is such that, having secured a cease-fire, a mediating state should then also take on the task of ensuring practical implementation of the truce terms. In other words, bolster its authority as a peacekeeper with material arguments.

At this moment Russia has an acute need of such arguments. It is now that the settlement processes in Abkhazia, Karabakh, and Tajikistan are entering the active phase. The question of a stronger Russian physical presence in the Balkan crisis zone is also arising. At the moment the Russian presence is confined to a Russian battalion within the UN forces in Croatia. But if the Geneva talks are successful—and Russian diplomacy is resolutely working toward that—the scale of the peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina will drastically increase. And, I think, if Russia wants to retain its role as one of the leading forces in the Bosnian settlement and in the Balkans as a whole, this role should also be bolstered by real involvement in this operation.

Settling the conflict is a task shared by the states of the relevant region and the world community as a whole. Consequently, the burden of spending on peacekeeping operations should rightly be distributed between them. This important principle has been reflected in a number of bilateral and multilateral agreements within the CIS framework. But it still has to be put into practice. Russia is insistently raising the question of the world's major states contributing to funding peacekeeping operations in the former USSR.

But at the moment we have to rely primarily on our own efforts. Politically and diplomatically, Russian peacekeeping has now found its feet—what it needs now is a firm legal and material base within its own country. It is necessary to immediately adopt a law on Russian armed forces' participation in UN, CSCE, and CIS peacekeeping operations. However, the appropriate draft law has already spent almost a year in the labyrinth of the Russian parliament.

Experience convinces us that "economizing" on peacekeeping or lack of consideration for this by no means merely departmental but statewide matter only proves the justice of the saying: "Meanness is counterproductive." Peace is indeed a costly business now in many areas right next to Russia's borders. But keeping the peace is cheaper at any rate than war. And who can calculate how much peacekeeping costs when it is a question of human lives saved.

That is why developing and maintaining peacekeeping means investing capital in a secure future and Russia's world prestige.

Dispute With Japan To Be Solved by 'Future Generations'

LD0109104293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1005 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The territorial dispute with Japan will be solved by future generations of politicians, according to First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

Talking to reporters Wednesday [1 September] he welcomed the fact that Russia had recognised the existence of the problem which earlier had not been acknowledged by Soviet authorities.

However, the dispute is not an easy one. "It is impossible to say that the problem will be immediately solved. It will be most evidently settled not by our generation of politicians", Shumeyko said.

The dispute is to be considered in the context of a peaceful dialogue with Japan, according to the first deputy premier. "Politically and diplomatically we are only approaching it", he added.

Burbulis Not Authorized To Prepare Yeltsin Japan Visit

LD0109111293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1038 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The press service of the Russian president released a statement Wednesday [1 September] saying that only Foreign Ministry officials are authorised to prepare the official visit of the Russian president to Japan.

"Apart from official representatives of the Russian Foreign Ministry the president did not authorise anyone to hold negotiations concerning the form and the essence of his visit to Japan", it said, evidently referring to Gennadiy Burbulis, former aide of the Russian president, who was reported to leave to Tokyo today to probe the possibility of holding the visit scheduled for this autumn.

"Any statements or meetings of persons arriving in Japan on the eve of the visit outside the framework of official negotiations cannot be viewed otherwise than statements or meetings of private persons which do not result in any political consequences", the press service said.

Commentary Lauds Resumption of IAEA-DPRK Talks

SK0109101493 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Commentary by station commentator Aleksey Kontrachev; from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] According to news from Vienna, the talks between the representatives of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] and the DPRK will resume on 31 August. It is very good news. Half a year ago, Pyongyang withdrew from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and declared that it would not accept the international inspection by the IAEA on its military sites [kun taesangdul].

However, in June, the United States and the DPRK had four rounds of talks presenting a clue to resolve the issue. Today, Pyongyang and the IAEA are resuming negotiations. Although it is difficult to predict today what kind of concrete decisions will be agreed upon in the talks, we can expect that sound thoughts will prevail in the talks. If Pyongyang continues rejecting the international inspection, the world community's suspicion of the DPRK's development of nuclear weapons will grow. This is not at all helpful to stabilizing the situation.

Due to the dispute over the nuclear issue, the dialogue between the South and North Korea also has been suspended. The United States has stated that it will not withdraw its forces from the ROK until Pyongyang makes its position clear on the nuclear issue. Furthermore, the nuclear issue is also deteriorating the process for the normalization of relations between the DPRK and Japan. It is fortunate that Japan intends to resume official talks with the DPRK although it has not been able to dispel the nuclear suspicion yet.

The resumption of dialogue with the IAEA will enhance the DPRK's international prestige and help formulate a sound situation in the region.

Chernomyrdin Visits Kennedy Space Center, Nuclear Plant

LD3108215293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1956 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Vanichkin]

[Text] Washington August 31 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, currently on a working visit here, left Houston, Texas, for Florida on Tuesday to acquaint himself with the U.S. space program and experience an emergency elimination of nuclear power plant accident aftermath.

In the morning the Russian premier visited the Kennedy Space Research Center. Deputy NASA Director D. Pearson informed Chernomyrdin of a program of shuttle flights. The prime minister visited an assembly complex and the launch pad on Cape Canaveral.

After meeting NASA heads, Chernomyrdin left by helicopter for the St. Lucie nuclear power plant located not far from Cape Canaveral to view a full-scale imitation of a power plant accident and actions of plant staffers to eliminate the accident aftermath.

The Russian official will leave for Washington on Wednesday (Moscow time) [1 September].

Filatov Meets Members of Commission on U.S. MIA's

LD3108203193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1705 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Sergey Filatov, head of administration of Russian president, met today members of the joint Russian-American commission looking for Americans listed as missing in action during and after the Second World War.

Taking part in the meeting were Ambassador Malcolm Toon, American co-chairman of the commission, Congressman P. Peterson, D. Clift, chief of staff of the U.S. military intelligence, R. Kazlarich, deputy state secretary, D. Collins, director of the National Reserve System, Dmitriy Volkogonov, Russian co-chairman of the commission, V. Kozlov, deputy chairman of the Russian Committee for Archives, S. Osipov, the commission secretary, A. Krayushkin, head of a department of the Russian Foreign Ministry and others.

Replying a query of the participants, Sergey Filatov briefed them on the reforms in Russia and the state of relations between the two countries, press center of the presidential administration reported.

U.S. Consulate Staffer Arrested in St. Petersburg

PM3108152793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report: "Virtuoso Use of Bad Language"]

[Text] New York, 30 Aug—The U.S. Embassy has sent the Russian Government a complaint after militiamen arrested and beat up a 21-year-old U.S. staffer of the St. Petersburg Consulate, a U.S. official spokesman has reported.

"He did nothing, he was simply returning home," a consulate employee said, asking not to be quoted.

But according to militia spokesmen, this American was drunk, swearing, shouting in Russian, and pestering passers-by. When militiamen told him to go home and sober up, he lunged at them and had to be pacified.

"He was swearing like a trooper (in Russian) and more proficiently than any of the bums that we have ever detained," the duty officer at the militia department said.

Rumors of Freeze on IMF Funding 'Clearly Exaggerated'

PM3108161193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Valeriy Andriyanov report: "IMF-Russia: Funding Not To Be Withdrawn"]

[Text] Rumors picked up by several mass media that the IMF will cease the allocation of credits to Russia are clearly exaggerated. This is the conclusion that can be drawn from events of recent days.

Undoubtedly the causes of these rumors were the growth of the rate of inflation and parliament's refusal to adopt the budget deficit reduction package proposed by the president. IMF spokesmen have expressed concern over this. But nevertheless, there are so far no grounds to speak of credit to Russia being frozen.

The other day an IMF mission visited Moscow and held talks with representatives of the Russian leadership. These consultations are becoming a regular event. What was the subject of the talks? As is well known, in allocating to Russia the first part of the system credits, worth $1.5 billion, the IMF made the proviso that, in order to receive the second $1.5 billion installment, and also reserve credits, Russia would have to conclude a full-scale agreement with the IMF by 1 October, putting our relations on a clear juridical basis. The Paris Club also insisted on this term. But here we are at the end of the summer, and an agreement has still not been elaborated. It can hardly be drawn up in the one month remaining, either. However, this does not mean an end to the funding of Russia. Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin stated that it can be hoped that it will be possible to extend the possibility of signing the agreement until late fall.

It is not yet clear how the fate of the $1.5 billion intended for Russia will unfold. It cannot be ruled out that, as was proposed earlier, they will be transferred to other CIS republics to fund the purchase of Russian energy sources. At least, no technical obstacles exist in the way of realizing this plan.

It is expected that a number of questions will be clarified during the meeting between Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and IMF Executive Director Michel Camdessus during the Russian premier's visit to the United States.

One further fact testifies that relations between Russia and the IMF are far from critical. An informational seminar organized by the IMF External Relations Department is presently taking place in Moscow. Its theme is the fund's activity in Russia. Academics, entrepreneurs, and representatives of the press will be participating in the seminar.

Commentary Supports 'Arafat's 'Compromise' With Israel

LD3108170193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Excerpts] It is well known that the Israeli government ratified last night the draft charter on the principles of solving the Palestinian issue, which was drawn up with the participation of the PLO representatives.

The draft specifies establishing a Palestinian autonomy in Gaza Strip and the West Bank for five years. It has been decided to implement the autonomy primarily in two areas, the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Here is Oleg Grechkov's commentary on this issue:

[Grechkov] There is no doubt that this plan will give rise to a huge wave of varying assessments. It has indeed already given rise to such assessments. This is not surprising as every important political decision always has its supporters and opponents. Perhaps the importance of a political initiative is proportionate to the strength of the disagreements over it.

Starting from this premise, we find that the draft coordinated by the Palestinians and Israelis is a very important document because the discussions on it have become stormy in both Israel and the Arab world. There could be different views on every article of the draft.

There is no doubt that the draft is a compromise, i.e. it is that solution which should be pursued by efficient politicians. The fact is that compromises are the result of strong resistance. It is therefore not surprising that compromises cannot fully satisfy all sides. Hence extremists of both sides will oppose the implementation of such a solution. [passage omitted]

We must say that by ratifying the agreement with the PLO, Yitzaq Rabin has taken a tremendous step which could consolidate his influence.

On the other hand, we find that 'Arafat is taking a greater risk. If, for some reason, difficulties start to arise in implementing the Gaza-Jericho plan, then the situation within the Palestinian movement would be critical for 'Arafat. However, the PLO leader has previously proved that he does not fear risks.

In spite of the fact that a journalist has no right to assess the political personalities, we must now make an exception and make an assessment. Today, as the criticism of 'Arafat reaches that level, we must complain of the short memory of men. That leader—the PLO leader—has repeatedly proved his personal bravery and complete commitment to the struggle for the Palestinian rights. The line he adopts today does not need blind support based on cheering and clapping. However, the PLO leadership has the right to expect a rational analysis of its work and initiatives by the other Palestinian organizations, because such practical analysis is the only way to reach the truth.

Space Official Views Soviet-Indian Cryogenic Contract

LD3108161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1511 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The stand of the Russian Space Agency on the Soviet-Indian contact on delivery of cryogenic engines proceeds from a real situation and requirements of the international regime on non-proliferation of rocket technologies, First Deputy General Director of the Russian Space Agency Valeriy Alaverdov told ITAR-TASS here today.

His chief is currently in the United States to discuss issues related to the contract.

Missiles of many states are located in such a way that they are able to affect practically any place on earth, said the official. Thus, greater proliferation of these weapons cannot be allowed. Russia must not "stand aside" when advanced nations abide by the regime of non-proliferation of rocket technologies; it should also try to work in this regime, he noted.

In his words, the contract will be corrected so that India receives finished products (cryogenic engines) and know-how and technical documentation remains in Russia.

'Antipatriotism' of Bonner, Borovoy on Afghan Captives Assailed

PM3108131193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 1

[Sergey Prokopenko report: "Border Guards Are Still Being Held Hostage but the Fates of Fellow Countrymen Seem to Concern Yelena Bonner and Co. Least of All"]

[Text] Unfortunately, the fate of the Russian border guards seized by Afghan Mojahedin 10 August in the Moskovskiy Border Detachment sector in Tajikistan remains uncertain to this day. Despite agreements reached earlier, the Afghan side, citing various reasons (up to and including lack of transport), has repeatedly sabotaged the transfer of the hostages to the Russian side.

What is more, according to certain sources the Russian border guards have been conveyed deep inside Afghan territory and they are being detained in the region of Kabul.

Against the backdrop of Russia's efforts to get back the one Kazakh and four Russian border guards (and these efforts are significant—permanent contact has been established with Kabul; Russia's general consul in Mazar-e Sharif has taken vigorous action; and Iran, Pakistan, and the United States, all of whom support the efforts of our diplomats, have been "roped in"), the press conference given by Afghan Ambassador in Moscow Abdul Wahab Asefi, in which Yelena Bonner and Konstantin Borovoy, co-president of the Economic Freedom Party, participated, sounded a discordant note. They churned out already well-known and well-worn expressions about the USSR's guilt with regard to Afghanistan, and so on. Remarkably, this press conference was held in connection with the handover to Afghanistan's ambassador of "a symbolic humanitarian gift to the value of roughly $5,000 on behalf of Russian political parties" for Tajik refugees. Unfortunately, our homegrown orators failed to utter a work about the deaths of 25 Russian guys who were shot down by the bullets of the Afghan Mojahedin at the 12th Border Post, nor did they mention their orphaned children. And they forgot about the one Kazakh and four Russian border guards whose fate to this day remains unclear, not to mention the 300 prisoners of war held on Afghan territory.

I am not suggesting that hitting back now be considered, but the cynicism of the opinions of "Russia's eminent minds" against the backdrop of events already described by me is shocking, as is their desire to make political capital on the back of dubious actions. In the United States, to the experience of which country we are so wont to refer nowadays, a party passing opinions to the detriment of national interests could courageously assign itself to the ranks of "political corpses."

In our country, unfortunately, antipatriotism is more popular.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Dismisses Rutskoy, Shumeyko 1 Sep

LD0109112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1103 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow, 1 Sep (ITAR-TASS)—Vyacheslav Kostikov, press secretary of the Russian president, issued a statement today which says:

"Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has made a decision to relieve Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko [first deputy prime minister] of their responsibilities.

"The decree signed by the president, which comes into force from the moment of signing, that is from 1 September this year, explains that this decision has been made in connection with the damage which has been and is being inflicted on the state power as a result of mutual accusations of corruption.

"The sacking is temporary, and its duration will depend on the final results of the investigation.

"The decree stresses that the vice president's fulfilment of his duties is constitutionally linked with the presence of commissions from the president. Aleksandr Rutskoy does not have any commissions at the present time. In the absence of such commissions the powers of the vice president have no legal status.

"Aleksandr Rutskoy and Vladimir Shumeyko have been informed of the decision of the president."

Shumeyko Claims Removal Requested

LD0109114593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister who was temporarily dismissed by the Russian president Wednesday [1 September], asked Boris Yeltsin himself to sign a corresponding decree, Shumeyko's press secretary Grigoriy Bukhvalov told TASS.

Stepashin To Propose Galushko as Security Minister

LD0109114893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1121 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the parliamentary committee on defence and security issues, will propose Nikolay Galushko for the post of the security minister.

"I have already named the man...and will not propose anyone else", he told TASS Wednesday.

Galushko is currently first deputy security minister.

Stepashin added that his committee has not yet discussed any candidate. He added that a new minister is to be a "professional who would be able to keep the security bodies out of political strife in the current complicated political and criminal situation".

Yeltsin Nominates Two for Security Council Positions

LD3108192893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1532 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Vladislav Nasinovskiy was nominated head of the information and analysis department of the Russian Security Council's staff by today's instruction of the Russian president.

Another presidential instruction nominated Yuriy Nazarkin head of the coordination and interaction department of the Russian Security Council's staff, the Russian presidential press service reports.

Vice Premiers' Activities Reported

PM3108153393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **Meetings, Visits, Conferences**

[passage omitted] First Vice Premier Oleg Lobov held a working conference with his deputies in the Ministry of the Economy.

Oleg Soskovets, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, held a series of working meetings with leaders of Maritime Kray industrial enterprises. In the afternoon he took part in the ceremonial opening of the International Aerospace Show. [passage omitted]

Aleksandr Zaveryukha, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was engaged in tackling urgent questions connected with the harvest campaign. In particular, he chaired a session of the commission for the 1993 harvest collection.

Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays met with O. Radyugin, member of the Commission for the Use of the Property of the Western Group of Forces.

Yuriy Yarov, deputy chairman of Council of Ministers, held two thematic meetings with leaders of ministries and departments in the ecological and social spheres. In the evening the vice premier attended a Slovak Republic Embassy reception on the occasion of a Slovak national holiday.

Vice Premier Boris Fedorov held a series of working conferences and consultations at which the situation as regards the country's budget through the end of 1993 was discussed. In the afternoon a regular session of the

government Commission on Credit Policy was held under B. Fedorov's chairmanship.

Doubts Raised About Authenticity of Makarov Documents

PM3108132593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandr Shalnev report under the general heading: "Scandal Over Hard-Currency Account: Opinion of Prosecutor's Office, Questions for Those Making the Charges"]

[Text] The material made public by Andrey Makarov is undoubtedly sensational, but any sensation has a flip side—doubts regarding the accuracy and reliability of the material that causes hullabaloo in the news.

The main doubts concern a document that may be the crucial one in the series of documents shown on television and then reprinted in IZVESTIYA.

It is a notarial certificate. It bears the signature of a Canadian notary and two seals and should, according to A. Makarov's explanations, corroborate the authenticity of the trust agreement concluded between A. Rutskoy and someone by the name of B. Keret, now deceased.

The Interdepartmental Commission's translation of the document from English into Russian says: "...I hereby certify and attest that the copy of the appended document, produced and shown to me by Charles Jackson, called by him 'The New Trust Agreement,' dated 27 August 1991, has been compared by me with the original of this document..."

However, the English original says the following: "...I hereby certify and attest that the document here appended is a true copy of a document produced and shown to me by Charles Jackson and..." this is then followed in the original by the word "purporting"—meaning "allegedly," "presumed," "claiming to be."

Thus, all the notary did was check the copy of the trust agreement against the actual agreement and affirm: The copy does indeed fully correspond to the original, whereto I subscribe my name.

Remember, reader, how many sundry documents are demanded of you at Russian notary offices when you try to have your signature corroborated. I can assure you that Western notaries' ethics are equally strict in this regard. And in order for Jeffrey Chapnick, the notary from Toronto, to really be able to certify that the trust agreement is genuine, he should have summoned the two "signatories," that is Rutskoy and his late agent, and they should, moreover, have turned up with identification.

Jeffrey Chapnick, like all notaries, is extremely cautious: He is extremely afraid of losing his license, since he would at the same time lose a very good income. The notary's caution is also manifested, in particular, by the fact that, when checking the copy against the original, he described the original as the "purported 'trust agreement.'"

Another point. The title of document No. 3 in IZVESTIYA's selection says: "To Whom It May Concern." Theoretically this means that any person off the street can have access to this document. Yet it is a question of a bank document in which, if you analyze it, the bank reveals information about its client: It indicates the account number, the amounts transferred into and removed from this account. It would be understandable if that kind of report were prepared by a bank—a Swiss bank, that is, incidentally, a bank able to keep its deposits secret—in response to a request from judicial bodies. That does happen. But in this case, the report would be addressed to a very clear destination: To such-and-such court, answering your request of such-and-such date. But what we have here is..."To whom it may concern."

This document contains another inaccuracy: When writing numbers in English, commas are used to separate thousands from millions, millions from billions, and so on; decimal points are used to separate whole numbers from decimal fractions. The document contains decimal points in the millions. And another point: The paragraph entitled "Explanations" in the payment order (Document No. 2 in the IZVESTIYA selection) says that $13.5 million was transferred as "payment for goods received by Moscow City Soviet in accordance with the agreement between Agrokhim and (exact quotation) the city soviet council session of 2 September 1991." But another document in a letter sent by "Rebirth" to Rutskoy talks about importing baby food "for remote areas of Russia." Is Moscow a remote area?

There are also other questions that arise when you read the documents that have been made public. Answers to them will of course make it possible to clear up a great deal in this case or, more precisely, in the series of cases that are already starting to acquire the nature of a Russian "Watergate."

Yeltsin Speaks on New Academic Year

LD3108181293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1625 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Television address by President Boris Yeltsin on eve of "Knowledge Day"; live or recorded]

[Text] Dear friends: 1 September is a special holiday for each of us—Knowledge Day. This day embodies bright hopes for the future. There is hardly a single person to be found who does not remember his first day at school. In all ages literate people have enjoyed the respect of our nation. Such is the Russian tradition. Tomorrow schools, vocational schools, technical colleges, training colleges, and universities will again fling their doors open.

Despite all the difficulties, we have been able to get ready for the new academic year. Many of you know how

alarming the textbook situation was. We have managed to resolve this problem. Never before—neither in Russia, nor in all of the former Union—have so many textbooks been published as this year. Textbooks for schools remain free of charge in Russia.

Changes have taken place in the education system itself. The number of new-style educational institutions is growing rapidly. Those include gymnasiums, lyceums, and colleges.

In recent years we have established quite a few schools for small-hold farmers and schools for economic education, centers for educating the population, and the number of non-state educational establishments is growing. Much has changed in the content of teaching. There is a sufficiently broad choice of curricula. Teaching in subjects according to the choice of pupils and students is being introduced into practice. Education is again becoming just as varied as our great country, Russia. At the same time, the role of state educational standards is being raised in teaching. We should be certain that wherever a person studies—in a state or private school—he will acquire the same knowledge that will permit him to occupy a worthy place in life.

In the difficult conditions of the transitional period, Russian education workers and teachers will seek to preserve the best that has been attained over the many centuries' long history of education in our country. A glowing confirmation of this is the successful showing of our students and pupils at Russian and international knowledge Olympics. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the prize-winners of the Olympics and their mentors, and to wish all the talented youth of Russia new creative victories.

On the eve of the new academic year, one cannot fail to mention the problems too. The situation in the sphere of education remains complicated. And the situation in a number of higher education and research establishments is simply grave. I intend to have serious talks with scientists and people in charge of Russian science in the near future. Many—dangerously many—problems have now accumulated in this area. The state and society must search for and will find ways of preserving and developing our science. Because science and the whole system of education are the most important factors in ensuring the country's future.

Of course, it is not easy to carry on this course under our present conditions, moreover, when there are people who advocate sharp cuts in state support for the education system. I believe that such an approach is wrong. The government of Russia has now prepared a draft program for the development, reform, and stabilization of the Russian economy. This envisages increasing support for education and sets out the necessary financial and economic mechanisms to implement it.

The educational establishments will be relieved of all taxes and levies. In cases where the budget allowances are slow in coming, they will be granted favorable credits. Those who wish to invest in the development of education as well as enterprises producing goods for the needs of education will be offered tax relief and other benefits. It is important that financial investment in education is seen as profitable and prestigious by the Russian entrepreneurs.

As you know, education workers were among the first within the budget-financed sphere to move toward the pay system based on a single tariff scale. At that time, this led to an increase in the level of their earnings. But now the questions of salaries and grants have become acute again. Delays in payment of wages, expenses and so on have become chronic. The situation is getting intolerable. The government must find ways to solve these problems. Otherwise it is simply impossible to preserve the working situation in higher education establishments, technical colleges, and schools.

At the same time, we cannot solve education problems through the efforts of federal bodies alone, as has been the case for many years. There are plenty of opportunities for local authorities, and they should take them. It is evident that there is not enough activity here. All the same, there are positive examples: Plenty is being done in support of the education system by the administrations of the towns of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the Volgograd and Nizhniy Novgorod oblasts, the republics of Komi, Buryatiya, Yakutia-Sakha, and others. I hope that help like this on a local level will be reinforced.

We are striving to revive the best traditions of education which existed in Russia. Let us recall how influential were local trusteeships of educational establishments, how huge a significance family upbringing and education had in Russia. All of us, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, carry full responsibility for the education of our children and grandchildren. The state, for its part, should assist the family in any way possible.

On the eve of Knowledge Day I want to address students. Receiving an education is becoming more and more the personal duty of each young person, not only here but throughout the world. Do not forget that your success in life will depend, to quite a considerable degree, on how educated you are, what you know and what you can do. In the future, you will have a lot of examinations. I wish you good luck with them. I am confident that you, the citizens of our new Russia, will carry on the democratic changes in a befitting manner.

I also want to say a few words to our Russian professors, lecturers, and teachers. Russia's future depends on your moral position, on your in-depth knowledge and broad culture. These qualities will, without fail, rub off on your students. By your understanding of the reforms, by your civic stance in these hard times, you have repeatedly given the lie to the forecasts that you would inevitably reject the reforms. Accept my heartfelt gratitude for this.

On this day, it is especially pleasant for me to congratulate the youngest children who will be going to school for

the first time. The first day at school is an exceptional day. It will be remembered as one of life's most important events. Those who go to school for the first time are facing a wondrous time. Each day they will find out something new, something interesting about the world in which we live and about Russia. Bon voyage around the land of knowledge. Grow up to be honest, bold, people of initiative, and patriots of your country.

Dear people of Russia—let me once again greet you on this festive day—Knowledge Day. I wish you a successful new school year.

Educational Reforms, Problems Viewed

LD3108162093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1507 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—On September 1, all Russian schoolchildren will sit at their desks, marking the beginning of the new school year. According to reports dispatched by ITAR-TASS correspondents from different regions of Russia, this school year will be rather difficult in many respects, full of changes in the structure of an educational process and reforms in the education system. There will also be the eternal problem of the shortage of financial resources.

Schoolchildren in Moscow, as well as in some other cities of the Russian Federation, will be more and more drawn into studying new subjects which have not been taught before—such as management and esthetics, and the second foreign language. Teachers have been given the right to draw up a curriculum at their own discretion which will make it possible for schoolchildren to receive a much greater volume of knowledge. As before, a school uniform will not be obligatory. However in the last days of August parents frequented shops in the hope to buy a uniform as for low-income families a school uniform is cheaper and presents a way out of their difficult financial position.

A similar situation is observed now in Voronezh. Minimum expenses for fitting out one schoolboy or girl will be eight times higher as compared with the last year, according to estimates made by Voronezh school directors. The price of a school breakfast over a year has gone up almost six times, and will make 283 roubles. Taking into account that in the Voronezh region over 284,000 schools will open their doors for children and will admit more than 33,000 only first-formers, it will become clear what problems are facing schoolchildren. A school dinner will cost between 300 and 500 roubles. A daily compensation from the federal funds at the size of 116 roubles is envisaged for every first former.

The situation is better in those schools whose administration established direct ties with producers of agricultural products, and have storage facilities. It has been decided to earmark about 1.3 billion roubles from local non-budgetary funds to compensate part of the cost of schoolchildren's nourishment and 1.5 billion roubles—for students from low-income families. What is important, these funds will be transferred directly to schools which will make it possible to use them more rationally.

There are many problems in the Ulyanovsk region as well. However, despite great difficulties with financing educational establishments, the leaders of the region are finding the ways of overcoming obstacles and obtaining funds to finance the program for the development of the general education system. So, on the threshold of the new school year, 18 populated localities, mainly in rural areas, received modern school buildings, builders intend to complete the construction of another five school buildings before January 1994. Thus, the regional school network will be able to admit additionally 5,500 schoolchildren.

A complex situation with schools is in Udmurtia. Four new schools are opening but ten schools in the republic will not be able to receive schoolchildren on September 1 as due to financial indebtedness, the administration of those schools failed to complete their capital repairs. The problem of schoolchildren's nourishment has not been resolved either: a school dinner costs 400-500 roubles while a government's subsidy is only 52.7 roubles. Fairs held in the republic did not save the situation with providing school appliances. Previously 48 shops were selling goods for schoolchildren, now only three of them have specialized sections. Only three per cent of the total trade space in the Izhevsk "Detskiy Mir" (Children's World) department store is given to the sale of stationary. It is impossible to buy a school uniform, a skirt, a blouse, a shirt, a coat and so on. One cannot buy a "present to a first-former" set. The government of the republic allocated 33 billion roubles for the public education system which is 6.5 times more than last year. But this sum is also insufficient: inflation is galloping much faster.

Financial problems are affecting not only schoolchildren but their teachers as well. The local administration of the Kuzbass region, worried about the problem of low salaries of teachers, allocated 5,000 roubles to each of them monthly in addition to their salaries from the local budget. Besides, this extra payment is spread not only on teachers but also on workers in the public health service and cultural institutions. Additional payments made by the administration of the Kuzbass region total over 7 billion roubles.

'Public Opinion Leaders' Polled on Government Performance

MK3108104093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 2

[Svetlana Bykova report under the "VP-'NG' Poll" rubric: "To the Rustling of Old and New Paper Money. Public Opinion Leaders Assess Government's Performance in August"]

[Text] The survey ordered by NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA was conducted by the Vox Populi Service

(directed by B.A. Grushin) using the telephone interview method among those taking active part in forming and expressing views and moods of broad masses of the population and thus can be termed public opinion leaders. Distinguished among the latter are eight main groups: people's deputies who are members of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, chiefs of the ministries and other federal organs of executive power, leaders of political parties, directors of state-owned enterprises, chiefs of nonstate-owned businesses (private, joint-stock, joint ventures, and commercial banks), members of the top military command, mass media chiefs, and persons prominent in science and culture. The survey was held between 30 July and 6 August. The total number of those polled was 396.

The public opinion leaders assessed the performance of the government in an atmosphere not exactly most favorable for it, one which was sparked directly by its move to exchange the old paper money for new—which undoubtedly sent the government's rating down in August compared to previous months.

The drop by 0.19 points of the average rating in comparison with the previous survey, however, and a growing dissatisfaction with various aspects of the government's performance are not as big as could have been expected considering the barrage of criticism that came down on the government in connection with the money recall.

In the wake of an upswing in the government's popularity between February to April among all the groups of leaders, a steady decline in the government's rating began. Compared to June, it plunged 0.89 points among those prominent in science and culture. It dropped 0.51 among media chiefs, and 0.50 among the pro-communist leaders, and 0.40 among entrepreneurs.

The performance of the cabinet in August scored the top mark of 3.14 points among the executive branch itself, and 2.66 among media chiefs, closely followed by 2.47 points given by entrepreneurs. Less satisfied with the work of the government are military commanders on the whole (2.34), and prominent scientists and cultural figures (2.20).

It is the exchange of paper money that was regarded by members of the Russian elite as the government's greatest failure last month. But this action caused a stir of emotions far from among all the groups polled. The most indifferent in this regard are people's deputies, 76 percent of whom did not class the exchange either as a success or a failure for the government. At the same time, the worst hit by the money issue were entrepreneurs, 78 percent of whom classed it either as a success or a failure for the government. Interestingly, political leaders displayed a rare unanimity in this case: 44 percent of those who lead the parties of a communist orientation and 46 percent of those who lead the parties of other trends categorized this action as the cabinet's failure.

Naturally, it was not the exchanging of money alone that highlighted recent months in Russia. Which areas of the government's work were regarded by public opinion leaders as its main successes and failures? The prevailing positive assessments concern the cabinet's policy in the financial policy—hard-currency, inflation, budget, taxation, credits, etc. That is was a success said 34 percent of military commanders, 22 percent of entrepreneurs, 20 percent of pro-communist party leaders, and 18 percent of press chiefs. Finances are also cited (after the exchanging of money) as the main failure by all the groups of those polled, which obviously attests to, first, their extreme importance today; second, to sharply conflicting interests inside each group of leaders.

Russian Government Success-to-Failure Ratio Last Month (in Percentages to the Total Number of Those Polled—396 People)

Spheres of Activity	(1) Success	(2) Failure	(1)-(2)
Financial policy	15	9	+6
Stabilization of production	4	2	+2
Privatization of state property	2	1	+1
Continuation of economic reforms	1	1	0
Social policy	1	1	0
Organization of administration	2	3	-1
Foreign policy	2	3	-1
Participation in internal policy	1	3	-2
Exchange of money	4	49	-45

Travkin Calls For Elections for President, Parliament

PM3108112793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Aug 93 First Edition pp 1,2

["Fact And Commentary" interview with Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia, by Vyacheslav Shchepotkin; place and date not given: "Nikolay Travkin: If There are Going to be Early Elections, They Should be for Both Parliament and President"]

[Text] An announcement has been circulated through ITAR-TASS channels to the effect that the "next session of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] will consider the question of the withdrawal of the DPR (Nikolay Travkin's party) from 'Civic Union,' where it sits alongside the Free Russia People's Party (Aleksandr Rutskoy's party) and the 'Renewal' union."

The reason for raising the question of an official "divorce," the announcement goes on to say, is the statement by the board of the Smolensk Oblast DPR organization addressed to the DPR central board. It

describes Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's speech in Smolensk on 10-11 August as "unbridled National Salvation Front-style populism, which discredits the very idea of political centrism." This statement also raises the question of the DPR's withdrawal from "Civic Union."

That is the fact circulated by the news agency. What is DPR leader Nikolay Travkin's comment on it?

[Travkin] As the DPR sees it, the center is a force that must hinder a head-on clash between the authorities. Not hinder, in fact, but prevent this head-on clash, which now seems inevitable.

Judging by recent reports, "Civic Union" is beginning to turn into an extreme force. This is evidenced by the vice president's stance and his speech in Smolensk, which provoked a response on the part of the oblast DPR organization.

We do not want to take one side or the other. As we see it, the center has two main political tasks today. The first is to secure simultaneous early elections for both peaks of power, that is, president as well as parliament. The second is to ease the passage to power for people for whom power is not an end in itself, but a means of improving people's lives and the country's well-being and strengthening its political, economic, and international positions.

The need for these simultaneous early elections is clear today. We can see that today's rulers' sole concern is to have power. There is a mass of things that can and must be done right now. For example, everyone knows how to reform trade, consumer services, and so on. But we are not doing it. Why? Because carrying out reforms is not just a matter of adopting a law or issuing an edict. Reform is a regulated process. There is no one at the top at the moment to organize this regulation and no one to do it with. Here is a small example. The president issued an edict on the compulsory introduction of cash registers. Then there was a government decree which said that specific ways of implementing the edict would be determined later. So the country is waiting for all the details to be written down, saying who will decide whether or not cash registers are to be installed in the village of Dryzlovo, Shakhovskiy Rayon: Government head Chernomyrdin or Shakhovskiy Rayon Administration Chief Travkin?

Logically speaking, these simple matters should be decided by the local authorities. But it has been a month now and I have not yet obtained this simple decision.

Aside from the reforms, life goes on. It is the harvest campaign at the moment. There is nowhere to put all the agricultural products. If we find somewhere, no one can pay. There was a government decision allocating money to the countryside, but the producers cannot get hold of it.

There is a massive number of day-to-day questions like this. But there is no one to tackle them with, because all the members of the supreme authorities are tramping around Russia, bad-mouthing one another, and making the people anxious. The people listen with bewilderment to their far-fetched pronouncements-cum-accusations and wonder: Where do they expect me to go, what do they want of me?

There they are, in the government, whining about being short of money. So why, within the space of an hour, do two top government people land in the Far East on different aircraft? What do these personal flights cost? In the United States a top official was dismissed for making private use of an official vehicle on a day off. He was wasting budget funds. Here, though, we are so wasteful! So when you look at the television you want to shout: Get back to your offices! Stop feeling the rye and tossing your jackets on the wheat. They do not need you to tell them when to cut it. What are you doing climbing onto combines to check whether they are working properly? Go back to your office and tackle the question of financing the countryside, so that the money gets to the producers in accordance with your directive.

What is the situation at the moment? The situation is that the leaders have completely dropped out of the management of state affairs and are busy with a purely political task: wresting power from the other branch.

Or take the following example. Two days ago I received a telegram to the effect that wage rates for budget-funded sectors would not be reviewed until there was a specific government directive, but it was you, not me, who promised, before the referendum, to increase pay for teachers, doctors, and other working people in the budget-funded sphere! It was you, not me, who made the populist announcement of an increase in the minimum rate of pay. How can I look people in the eye now? And what kind of special directive is needed, when you have people's referemdum votes to back these promises? Incidentally, parliament, the president's administration, and the government went ahead and reviewed all the wage rates. While we, down here, sit and wait for a specific directive. For this alone there must be early elections for the lot of them.

I am finally coming to the conclusion that there is some logic in the actions of the authorities today. In August 1991 they were not at one another's throats, but were together, because they were trying to wrest power from the center. They got it too. At the expense of the breakup of the Union. At whose expense will each branch increase its power today? At one another's expense? So there is only one civilized way out of this political deadlock: Simultaneous early elections for the president as well as parliament. I want to stress that the press has been plugging the idea of the need for early parliamentary elections for a long time and extensively. But not a word about early elections for the president. As if everything was fine in that area. What does this indicate? That the press has a vested interest.

[Shchepotkin] But I would like to get back to the announcement of the DPR's withdrawal from "Civic Union"...

[Travkin] This news is further confirmation of what I have just said. In fact we withdrew from "Civic Union" some months ago and the matter was decided long ago. But the attempt to place the emphasis on it at this very moment indicates that specific forces are pursuing their own political ends. We have already withdrawn and are not going anywhere else. We will remain in the center. If certain political forces are deserting the center, that is their prerogative.

Military & Space Issues

Yeltsin, Grachev Visit Moscow Military District

PM0109101193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Sep 93 p 1

[Oleg Falichev and Aleksandr Oliynik report: "Supreme Commander Intends To Spend One Day A Month Working With the Troops"]

[Text] Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev yesterday visited formations and units in Moscow Military District.

As Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, said, the supreme commander of the Russian Armed Forces has decided to spend one day a month with the troops, since reports from the minister and commanders of districts "do not fully meet his desire to be in control of the situation in the Army and Navy." This was specifically the president's aim when he arrived at the Taman Division.

...A solemn meeting was held on the parade ground of the first motorized rifle regiment, whose commander is Guards Lieutenant Colonel V. Kadatskiy. Colonel General L. Kuznetsov, commander of Moscow Military District, reported to the supreme commander that the district troops are involved in combat training.

As we know, for objective reasons Moscow Military District has always occupied a special place in the Armed Forces and has been a kind of guideline for other districts and fleets. Realizing this, the district command and personnel are making great efforts today, in the current difficult situation, to resolve tasks involved in maintaining combat readiness and strengthening military discipline in the interests of successfully carrying out military reform.

Of course, a great many problems have to be overcome. In particular there are great problems with the manning of units and subunits and a shortage of fuels and lubricants to carry out exercises and field firing, as well as a shortage of money. There are also difficulties with supplies of combat equipment and spare parts. The laws aimed at the social protection of servicemen and their families do not always operate. This has been particularly alarming recently, when prices have been going up almost daily.

All these questions in various forms were broached during the trip made by the president and the defense minister to the Moscow Military District troops. Familiarizing himself with the life and conditions of the Taman Division servicemen, the president noted that there is an attitude of love and attention toward people here, and he spoke of the good proficiency and combat training of the personnel. He made the following entry, inter alia, in the Honored Visitors' Book at the museum of combat glory: "You are guarding the history of the Russian Army and your own division well. Well done!"

This day turned out to be brimming with activities for the president and the minister of defense. They visited barracks and a mess, attended a firing lesson, and visited a fire and attack zone.

As he stressed in a conversation with your correspondents, the Russian Federation president, whose military specialization in the past was as a tank crewman, was particularly interested to be shown the combat equipment and weapons, including the new items in service with the Taman Motorized Rifle and Kantemirov Tank Divisions. In particular he climbed into a SAU 2S19 self-propelled howitzer, which is considered the best in the world in terms of firing range and damage effectiveness.

Following a company tactical exercise in which the high firing proficiency of the personnel and interaction between the subunits and combat arms were demonstrated, Boris Yeltsin answered journalists' questions. He gave a high assessment of the proficiency of the Moscow Military District troops. He also expressed satisfaction at the service performed by servicemen on contract and their facilities. "Despite financial difficulties," the president said, "this year we will increase the number of servicemen on contract by another 50,000; they will total 300,000 men by the end of 1994." Answering a question about the adoption of a military doctrine, the country's president said that a military doctrine was now ready and would be adopted at the next Security Council sitting. The country's president presented to servicemen who had distinguished themselves watches with their names engraved on them. Those awarded watches included company commanders Senior Lieutenant Oleg Yeratkin and Senior Lieutenant Aleksandr Mikhaylov.

In the afternoon the country's president and the defense minister visited the paratroop regiment under the command of Guards Lieutenant Colonel Nikolay Ignatov, who was recently transferred from Lithuania to the Moscow region. Here they were shown paratroops' accommodation in the military installation and watched a practical airborne operation carried out by parachutists from aircraft and helicopters.

Yeltsin Comments on Contracts, Doctrine

LD3108141293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1238 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Andrey Naryshkin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Alabino, Moscow Oblast, 31 Aug—"The army has already overcome the psychological shock which ensued after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The Russian army exists—it is powerful, organized, well-disciplined and has good proficiency in the field," Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, stated in the Taman motor rifle division today. He familiarized himself with the life and combat training of this elite land troop formation, reviewed the division's equipment and attended tactical exercises by the regiment.

The president assessed the use of live shells during the exercise as evidence of the growing professional skills of Russian servicemen. The clear cooperation between the motor rifle subunits, the regiment's artillery and aviation, and also the engineering troops which laid a river crossing facility across a 180-meter water obstacle in half an hour made a big impression on Boris Yeltsin.

Talking about the aim of his visit to the servicemen, he noted that he often visited factories, construction sites and people living in the countryside. As for visiting military units, this, in his words, was "a sacred duty for a supreme commander."

Boris Yeltsin commented favorably on the practice of manning troops on a contract basis, noting that this contributed to their professionalism. The president emphasized that this practice has become possible because of the military reform. However the president added that "in view of the hard economic conditions we are unable to ensure funding for many measures envisaged by the reform." "There are only 100,000 contract servicemen, whereas even today we need about 300,000," he said. In this connection the president intends to sign a decree on additional recruitment of 50,000 contract servicemen this year and another 150,000 in 1994.

Touching on the issue of Russia's military doctrine, Boris Yeltsin revealed that its preparation has been "virtually completed" and that following Prime-Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's return from the United States the draft doctrine will be discussed at the Russian Security Council.

"The course for conversion in the defense industry remains unchanged. The fact that some design bureaus ought to be given financial support is another matter," the president noted.

Answering a question about his own military occupational specialty, Boris Yeltsin disclosed that he was "a tank officer, a commander of a medium tanks platoon," and was therefore "reasonably versed in military hardware. All the more so because I was connected with defense industry works in the Urals."

The president described as "unrealistic" the idea that Russia's defense minister should also be the commander-in-chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces. "Other ways of cooperation have to be sought, " he added, having spoken in favor of developing bilateral and multilateral contacts between defense ministers of the Commonwealth states.

Yeltsin Notes Finance Problems

LD3108205293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By unidentified correspondent, including recording of comments by President Boris Yeltsin—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Boris Yeltsin visited the Taman and Kantemir divisions stationed near Moscow. However, it was not politics but the problems of the Russian Army that were discussed at the meeting with servicemen.

[Correspondent] This was the first such visit to troops by Boris Yeltsin. The troops had prepared an extensive program for the president, and as they say, they made the best of it: exemplary order in the barracks and hostels for specialists who have signed a contract with the armed forces, and combat equipment in action.

[Yeltsin] I am deeply satisfied that the army has passed the stage of this psychological shock. After the collapse of the Soviet Union there was a danger that the army would fall to pieces, you see, and we would not be able to put it together again. Nevertheless, the Russian Army still exists, it is powerful, well-organized, well-disciplined, well-trained.

[Correspondent] Going on to reply to questions from journalists, the president noted that the delayed salaries for July have now been paid in full to personnel, and almost in full for August. But there are other problems with financing the armed forces, and primarily a lack of money for switching the army to a contract basis as soon as possible. These problems have to be addressed immediately.

Boris Yeltsin then visited the Kantemir Tank Division, famous not only for its military but also its political past. The president familiarized himself with the history and also the combat resources of the division: 300 tanks and 250 armored vehicles. The president was able to assess the division's fighting training on the testing ground where a spectacular battle was enacted.

The next item in the program was the 119th Parachute and Air Assault Regiment, which was withdrawn from Lithuania in December. The air assault troops' special weapons were shown to Yeltsin in all their diversity. It was noted that in spite of the collapse of the Union and

the loss of partners in the CIS, the Russian military industrial complex is still meeting the requirements of our military, including the level of its developments. However, the air assault troops are training not only to use these weapons, but also to manage without them if need be. Reconnaissance troops from the air assault forces displayed their skills. The president made a special assessment of their display, despite the modesty of the troops themselves.

[Yeltsin] Excellent marks for the display, and I would ask you not to argue with the president, especially not with the supreme commander in chief!

Grachev: Yeltsin Solved Problems

LD3108180093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1703 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—A working visit to the Moscow Military District "was very impressive"; the Russian servicemen are ready to fulfill their tasks, Russian President and Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armed Forces Boris Yeltsin told personnel of an paraborne regiment stationed in the Naro-Fominsk region.

Boris Yeltsin visited the Kantemirovskaya Guards Tank Division and a paraborne regiment withdrawn from the Baltics to the Moscow region this afternoon to attend tank shooting training and paratroopers' hand-to-hand fighting exercises and acquaint himself with materiel and armaments of the paratroopers.

"During the visit the president solved a number of current problems of the Russian Armed Forces," Russian Defence Minister Army General Pavel Grachev told an exclusive ITAR-TASS interview. In his words, he will soon meet First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets to discuss the army and fleet financing.

This will help to do away with the debt on wages and salaries to servicemen, workers and employees and consolidate positions of scientists and producers in the defence complex, said the minister.

In Grachev's words, the Russian president supported a proposal of the Defence Ministry on additional contract recruitment of 50,000 servicemen in 1993. Another 150,000 servicemen are expected to join the Army on contract in 1994.

Yeltsin, Grachev Interviewed

LD3108183193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1450 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Report by correspondent Tatyana Chemodanova on President Boris Yeltsin's visit to the Kantemirovskaya Guards Division in the Naro-Fominsk region on 31 August]

[Text] We, the journalists covering Boris Nikolayevich's trip, visited a guards regiment where we familiarized ourselves with the servicemen's life. We saw the barracks and the recreation facilities, and also watched shooting practice. In my opinion, it was all very impressive.

Talking to journalists, Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] said his military qualifications are connected with tanks; he was a medium tanks platoon commander and is well-versed in military equipment, since his work in the Urals was related to military plants. The president said he could shoot from virtually every type of weapon. Now I would like to offer you the recorded interview I have brought from there.

[Begin recording] [Chemodanova] Boris Nikolayevich, this is Mayak radio. What are the reasons for your visit to Taman Division today and what are your impressions of it?

[Yeltsin] Well, it's my duty. It has not been timed to coincide with any event or anything special—nothing of the kind. This was a scheduled visit planned for the month of August.

As for my impressions, I am deeply satisfied that the Army has passed the stage of psychological shock. There was a danger that the Army would fall to pieces and that we would not be able to put it together again. Nevertheless, the Russian Army still exists. It is powerful, well-organized, well-disciplined, and well-trained. Just look at this routine exercise, where a company practiced offensive maneuvers, using the full range of military equipment and live shells. So I have very good impressions, also a good impression of the men serving on a contract basis. After all, they get 43,000 rubles, free food, free fitting-out. People join willingly; one out of five, or seven, or even one out of ten are now selected—this kind of rate. And of course, the people who join are very good professionals, and this will greatly improve the standard of training in the forces. This has not just become visible. A reform of the armed forces is under way, maybe not all that fast, but it is in progress. All these processes are under way.

[Chemodanova] Are you pleased with the progress of the reform?

[Yeltsin] I cannot say that I am completely happy, but it is a fact that these reforms are in progress.

[Chemodanova] What are you dissatisfied with?

[Yeltsin] I am dissatisfied with our inability, owing to poor financial conditions, to finance many of the measures envisaged by the reform. There are only 100,000 people serving on a contract basis, but we ought to have about 300,000 at this stage. You see? And what sort of conditions do they have? They live in hostels, four people (?to a room).

What can we do? The whole world lives like this, and we must also switch over to this sooner or later. After all, we

are not transferring all 1.5 million or 2 million servicemen to the contract system. We have 100,000 already. And now we have agreed on another 50,000—I will sign 150,000—and there will be 150,000 in 1994. In other words, for 1994 there will be 300,000 contract servicemen in an Army of 1.5 million. That's quite a serious matter. [end recording]

[Chemodanova] The president was accompanied on his trip by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. This is what he told journalists.

[Begin Grachev recording] There are two problems at the present time that really hinder the implementation of the reforms that we intended to complete by the year 2000.

There is the absence of the draft contingent, and I had to appeal several times to the president, the government, and the Supreme Soviet to immediately review and make more precise the documents defining service in the armed forces. Literally yesterday we sent a further document to the Supreme Soviet, asking them to consider it in September, so that the fall draft is successful and more complete. The Supreme Soviet promised to examine several articles which prevent young people from serving in the Army.

The second factor, if you keep a close watch on life in the Army, is that, some time before May, we were in general pleased with the situation that had developed as regards backup, financing, and the general attitude toward the Army, including that adopted by government structures. From May onwards, the financial backing for the Armed Forces worsened considerably, not only as regards the payment of wages to servicemen, including office workers, but also as regards financing purchases of new equipment and armaments, ensuring a supply of money to our enterprises in the military-industrial complex, as well as financing research and design work. Needless to say, that had a negative effect, in general, on the state of the Armed Forces, on the morale of the men, and especially on the state of affairs at military factories. We are supplying money [word indistinct] to virtually all units. But that does not solve the problem.

As for the president, he has decided, despite being so busy, to have a presidential military day once a month, in other words, on one day a month he will visit military units and administrative centers, and meet middle- and lower-ranking officers, so as to get a really clear picture of the situation that applies among the troops. [end recording]

Yeltsin Seeks Support of Military

PM0109095193 ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Sep 93 First Edition p 1

[Vyacheslav Kocherov report: "After the Event: On Patrol"]

[Text] Yesterday Russian President Boris Yeltsin in conjunction with Army General Pavel Grachev, defense minister, and Colonel General Yevgeniy Podkolzin, commander of the Airborne Troops, visited the bases of the Kantemir-Taman division and the 106th Tula Airborne Division's 119th Guards Paratroop Regiment.

I must point out that Russian soldiers, unlike the defenders of some states on other continents, are by no means spoiled with the president's attention. The appearance of the supreme commander in chief among his Army was greeted with a sense of satisfaction and hope, particularly hope. The dire position in which the defenders of our homeland have found themselves is well-known. Housing is difficult and they are not paid for months. I think that the president's visit was in many respects dictated by his desire to relieve the tension within the troops and support the military. It is quite possible that he will give renewed guarantees of financial stabilization in the Army and Navy, and he could even personally announce a pay raise for servicemen.

Commenting on the aims of the president's trip, the defense minister said that Boris Yeltsin has decided to spend one day a month with the troops, because reports from the minister and district commanders "do not fully satisfy his desire to be master of the situation in the Army and Navy."

At the same time some observers think that the president's visit to the troops who traditionally support him is connected more with the worsening of the political struggle at all levels of the Russian authorities. In the opinion of General Albert Makashov, member of the National Salvation Front Board, Yeltsin is trying to gain the support of the airborne troops. The general is convinced that this visit is connected with the "softening up" process that the president announced for September.

However, there are also other opinions on this. The people holding these opinions are convinced that the events of August 1991, the ad hoc withdrawal of troops from neighboring countries and further afield, and the authorities' persistent lack of consideration for the present-day needs of the Army and Navy will hardly make it possible to enlist the military in any political games, much less win them over to anyone's side.

Grachev Discusses Upcoming Trip

LD3108150893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1246 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS military observer Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Alabino, Moscow oblast, 31 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian troops deployed on the territory of Georgia should be withdrawn or else reduced considerably, Army General Pavel Grachev, the Russian minister of defense, believes. This is prompted, he said, by the situation surrounding the Russian units and by the decision of the Congress to stop using men on compulsory service to staff any contingents stationed beyond Russia's borders.

Army General Pavel Grachev leaves 1 September for a two-day working visit to Georgia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. Commenting on the aims of this trip today at the request of the ITAR-TASS observer while visiting the Taman Motorized Rifle Division, the minister stated that he intends to meet with Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze in Tbilisi "at Shevardnadze's request, following his recent meeting with President Yeltsin."

"I shall propose leaving Russian troops in just three regions, by agreement with the Georgian side: these regions will be Tbilisi, Akhalkalaki, and Adzharia." He also intends to discuss Georgia's readiness to accept the establishment of Russian military bases on its territory, as is being done now in Armenia on the basis of a specific agreement. Any country which wishes to have Russian bases will provide for their needs from its own funds, the minister explained.

"In Ashgabat, we plan to sign five documents determining the viability of the Russian troops and defining their cooperation with the Turkmen army," Pavel Grachev said. The main document is an agreement under which Turkmenistan will, from 1 January 1994, "undertake virtually full responsibility for providing for our troops." In addition, the defense minister intends to persuade the servicemen to delay their return to Russia, "because the mass withdrawal of troops from other territories means that there is nowhere to put them." He stressed that "the situation in Turkmenistan is calm, attitudes to the Russian troops are good, and they can stay there a little longer."

In Tashkent, Pavel Grachev will meet with the defense ministers of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan in order to initial an agreement on the quantities of hardware being reduced by those states under the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE). "The armies of these countries come partially under the terms of the CFE treaty, and we shall work on the principle that Russia, as a party to the treaty, while observing the quotas which it contains, will not leave its southern flank exposed," he stressed. The initialled agreement will be signed by the heads of the three states.

Grachev To Appeal to Yeltsin on Army Funding

PM3108150993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Unattributed feature: "Executive Branch Monitoring"]

[Text] **Army**

In the next few days Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev intends to send an appeal to the president and the prime minister requesting indefinite preferential credits for the Army's needs. This appeal will also be signed by members of the Armed Forces Workers and Employees Trade Union Federation Executive Committee, with whom the minister has met.

It was noted at the meeting that the Ministry of Finances owes 2 trillion rubles [R] for mainatining the army, including around R200 billion in wages to civilian personnel.

Yeltsin Greets Suvorov Graduates on Anniversary

PM3108115593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 93 p 1

[Unattributed report, incorporating President Boris Yeltsin's address to the command, teaching staff, and graduates and pupils of the Suvorov Military Colleges: "Russian Federation President Greets Suvorov Men"]

[Text] The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Suvorov Military Colleges is continuing. At 1700 hours on 3 September, a festive formation of Suvorov graduates and pupils of all generations will march past the A.V. Suvorov monument (which is opposite the Central House of the Russian Army). On 4 September it is planned that a gala meeting will be held in the Moscow Suvorov Military College Club.

And on 24 August, Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin addressed those celebrating the anniversary with words of greeting:

I sincerely greet the command, teaching staff, and Suvorov graduates and students of all generations on a wonderful anniversary—the 50th anniversary of Suvorov Military Colleges.

Born in the grim years of the Great Patriotic War, your colleges were named in honor of the famous Russian military leader Aleksandr Vasilyevich Suvorov. Numerous military victories are associated with his name, and these have brought unfading glory to Russian arms and have raised Russia's international prestige high.

In the 50 years of their existence, the Suvorov military colleges have become a graphic symbol of the state's concern about the future of the officers' corps and the Armed Forces. They have taught and trained tens of thousands of young men. The majority of graduates have dedicated their lives to military labor. Many eminent Russian military chiefs, theoreticians, and practical workers of military labor started their career in Suvorov uniform.

I wish you, dear Suvorov pupils and graduates, success in your training and military service, good achievements and the realization of your boldest hopes.

I am sure that guys in uniform will always be surrounded by true nationwide attention, love, and admiration.

New Weapons Developed for Internal Troops

LD0109104793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] One quite often hears that in Russia the criminal groups are better armed than law enforcement bodies. This is partly true, but today the internal troops will be armed with the most modern types of individual weapons which have been developed by Russian scientists and have no foreign analogies. For instance, the 9mm calibre Gyurza pistol, which is capable of piercing the titanium plates of a bulletproof vest from a distance of 80 meters and through 5mm thick steel from a distance of 40 meters; 18 cartridges are loaded simultaneously into one magazine. There is not a single foreign pistol that has such characteristics.

The silent Vul pistol is the special pride of the gunsmiths. It does not have the traditional silencer. The original construction of the pistol and the cartridges provide complete sound and flame absorption on shooting. In a silence that seems unreal, the VUL pistol can pierce an army helmet from 20 meters in 100 percent of cases.

The arsenal of Russian troops also includes noiseless submachine guns, carbines with a complete set of technological appliances for fighting terrorists and kidnappers, and everything necessary for fighting crime. Today, equipping troops with the new technology depends only on state financing and the necessary capital investments.

Spokesman Views Danger of Obsolete Ammunition

LD3108222393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] The 2 million or so tonnes of conventional ammunition accumulated on the territory of Russia, whose storage date has expired or which is of obsolete type, poses a serious threat to Russia's safety. This is the opinion of (Nikolay Yegorov), spokesman of the Russian Committee for the Defense Industry. He said no less than 300,000 tonnes has to be reprocessed annually to reduce the danger of this ammunition exploding.

Aerospace Show Opens in Moscow 31 Aug

LD3108203793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By correspondent A. Filippov, including recording of comment by N. Afimov, corresponding member of Russian Academy of Science, from Moscow air and space show; from the Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] If we value our services and utilities, then we recall the high appraisal given by Boris Yeltsin to Russian military technology. It was reaffirmed today at the Moscow air and space show, where the sensations were the latest Russian designs in military technology.

[Filippov] The main area of the Moscow air and space '93 show was opened today at the airfield of the Zhukovskiy test flight institute. The numerous spectators were shown the latest Russian fighters and helicopters. Twenty-first century Russian-U.S. joint production passenger aircraft took to the skies. A fair of the latest Russian-made anti-aircraft and missile weapons was also organized at the show. The technology on display was highly appraised by both our own and foreign specialists.

The super-sensation of the air show was a complex of various missile systems, which was presented for the first time.

[Afimov] This is a unique complex which is substantially superior to similar complexes in other countries.

[Filippov] The core of this complex is an anti-aircraft missile system for knocking out modern aircraft of the future, cruise missiles, and other means of air attack. This also includes the celebrated radar complex called Zoopark.

Space Official Comments

LD3108220593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1258 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronila Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug—"Our space industry is Russia's only industry that corresponds to world standards", stated Valeriy Alaverdov, first deputy director general of the Russian Space Agency in an interview for ITAR-TASS today, coinciding with the opening of the first Moscow aerospace show. He said that despite complicated economic conditions, not a single space priority has been neglected and the exhibits at the show confirm this.

The Russian Space Agency's exhibition can be divided into four main sectors: Space equipment serving the needs of the national economy and theoretical science, manned flights, and orbit delivery vehicles. They all represent the most important directions in the agency's activities, and resources are being channelled toward them. Among the new projects that are soon to be tested in practice, Valeriy Alaverdov named the space vehicle "Okean-O", designed to serve the needs of the fishing industry, the "Almaz-1B" automatic space monitoring station, the "Spektr" vehicle, designed for theoretical research, and the "Mars" vehicle, due to be launched next year. The United States, France, and European countries are taking an active part in the project to study the planet Mars.

Defense Official Comments

LD3108221693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] The first aerospace show in our country opened in Moscow and Zhukovskiy, which is near Moscow, on 31 August. Vladimir Belov is here with more details.

[Belov] More than 300 firms from Russia and CIS countries as well as nearly 200 foreign companies are taking part in this air space forum. More than 100

passenger and combat aircraft are being demonstrated by the Russian air industry.

Here are some interesting figures: Between 1936 and 1993, over 2,500 world records were registered by our aerospace technology. Of these, 1,008 have not yet been beaten.

But, despite all the achievements, our aerospace industry is currently going through hard times. What is being done to preserve this truly golden reserve? This is what Anatoliy Bratukhin, deputy chairman of the Russian Committee for the Defense Industry, told journalists:

[Begin Bratukhin recording] While considering aerospace as the most hi-tech industry, the Russian Government and the Russian Supreme Soviet have designated the development of civilian aircraft and the space industry as priority federal programs up to the year 2000. Russian industry, which is deeply integrated with that of Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and other CIS countries, maintains the most important principle of preserving and developing its unique scientific and industrial potential. [end recording]

[Belov] This is why the programs of the world-famous designer centers which create MiG's and SU's as well as the new generation of passenger aircraft—Ilyushins and Tupolevs—are receiving the government's main support. A whole range of special-purpose aircraft have been designed—planes for businessmen and farmers, small wing-in-ground-effect craft [ekranoplany] and amphibious aircraft for geologists and oilmen. There are also material incentives in this industry. Firms which received guaranteed orders are also getting support from the government.

Cosmonauts Complete Two Months on Mir Complex

LD3108212993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0910 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug, ITAR-TASS—Russian cosmonauts Vasiliy Tsibliyev and Aleksandr Serebrov are completing the second month of their orbital flight.

As reported from Flight Control Center, in the period from 28 to 30 August the crew's work program on board the "Mir" complex included experiments into the study of materials in space and geophysical and astrophysical research.

Smelting has been carried out on the "Gallar" device in order to obtain a mono-crystal of semi-conductor material with improved structural and electro-physical characteristics in micro- gravitational conditions.

With the aid of the "Priroda-5" photographic complex, the cosmonauts took several series of photographs of the earth's surface and the oceans of the world. Astrophysical experiments using the "Mariya" magnetic spectrometer, and also a regular cycle of geophysical research work, were planned for today.

According to reports from orbit and telemetric data, the flight is proceeding normally.

Economic Issues

New Export Control System Created

MK3108134893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 2

[Konstantin Smirnov report: "Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Agreement With Ministry of the Economy. Treaty Will Make it Possible To Expose Violators of Monetary Regime"]

[Excerpts] A radical improvement in the system of monetary and export control is one of the priority areas in the work of Russia's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. An agreement was signed yesterday "On Organizing the Exchange of Information Between The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and the Russian Ministry of the Economy Within the Framework of the Creation of a Single Automated System of Control (SASC) Over the Export of Strategic Goods." As a result of the agreement, the first stage of the general monetary control plan will be put into action as soon as September. [passage omitted]

The plan will be based on pooling the two data bases—those of the Economy Ministry concerning quotas, and those of the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry concerning licenses. This will make it possible, already at this stage of SASC development, to uncover violators. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations also signed a bilateral agreement with the State Customs Committee. Draft agreements have been finalized in general also with the Ministry of Fuel and Energy, and a number of other agencies. The decision to go over to the SASC is being accompanied by structural changes in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations. Starting yesterday, the Main Administration of Export Control and Protection of State Interests under the stewardship of Aleksandr Kutsobin, creator of the SASC, took over from the main administrations of nontariff regulation and protection of state interests.

Enterprises' Energy Costs Rise

PM3108140393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Irina Goryacheva of Russian Government's Center for Economic Conditions: "Energy Price Hikes Are Main Inflationary Factor in August"]

[Text] Manufacturing enterprises' wholesale prices of basic energy resources in Russia rose on average by 24 percent between 26 July and 16 August, with overall an inflation of 20 percent, including 16 percent for energy raw materials (coal, oil, and natural gas) and 8 percent for petroleum products.

The prices charged by electricity producers rose 70 percent in the first half of August. The rate of growth considerably outstripped price hikes for raw material energy resources and oil refinery output and only lagged behind coal prices. Electricity prices have risen by a factor of 8.9 since the beginning of the year.

During the first half of August average wholesale prices of coal rose by a factor of 3.9 (4.5 for the whole of July). The biggest rise in average coal prices was recorded at mines in Irkutsk Oblast (by a factor of 13.1), the Tuva Republic (8.0), the Komi Republic (6.3), Sakhalin Oblast (5.5), and the Sakha Republic (4.9). The average sectoral price of coal in Russia was 8,400 rubles [R] per tonne, but the price of Sakhalin coal was close to the value of Tyumen oil (R15,200 per tonne of coal and R16,600 per tonne of oil).

Whereas in December 1992 the price of one tonne of gasoline was equivalent to the price of three tonnes of oil, in mid-August 1993 the price of one tonne of gasoline equated to the price of four tonnes of oil. Since the beginning of the year prices of lubricating oils have risen by a factor of 6.4, diesel fuel—5.3, and automobile gasoline—4.3. Automobile oil prices have risen least of all since the beginning of the year (by a factor of 2.5)

During the first half of August the gap between the rate of increase of manufacturing enterprises' wholesale prices (125 percent) and retail prices (113 percent) of automobile gasoline persisted. The average retail prices of automobile gasoline in Russia (R115 per liter) are higher than manufacturing enterprises' wholesale prices (R81 per liter) by a factor of 1.4.

Debt to Grain Farmers Grows

PM3108140193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 5

[Anatoliy Diordiyenko report followed by Ministry of Agriculture official Ivan Gridasov commentary: "Will Money Be Found for the Harvest?"]

[Text] The extra 149 billion rubles [R] allocated at the end of last week by the Finance Ministry to buy up the grain crop has not yet left Moscow. While the Finance Ministry and the Central Bank point at each other, the peasants have yet to receive any money for the grain they have sold to the state. According to a forecast from Leonid Cheshinskiy, president of the "Khleboprodukt" Federal Contract Corporation, the funds allocated will reach the localities in eight days' time. Meanwhile, the debt owed to the grain farmers is snowballing. It stood at R378 billion as of Monday [23 August]. Around 600,000 tonnes of grain a day are being sold. Consequently the debt is increasing by some R50 billion every day. The Finance Ministry is promising to allocate "Khleboprodukt" just R85 billion by 1 September. This would not even be enough to pay off the current debt.

On 25 August we reported the meeting between the president, L. Cheshinskiy, and Vice Premier B. Fedorov. It seems that the meeting did actually identify ways of overcoming the difficult situation with regard to payments for grain. Unfortunately, as the "Khleboprodukt" president said, the mechanism which should have implemented what was planned has failed to work.

Ministry of Agriculture Commentary

The harvest is good, but 20,000 fewer combine harvesters have taken to the fields in 1993 than was the case in the past, Ivan Gridasov, chief of the Ministry of Agriculture's Main Administration for Crop Production, said in an effort to explain the situation, but many of those combine harvesters that are operational are having to stand idle owing to a shortage of spares or fuel shortfalls. Unfortunately, nobody will refuel them without being paid in advance—at the very time that grain is having to be delivered to state stocks on credit. Rural workers in many rayons have halted sales of grain to the state for this reason.

The current situation could result in commercial structures' siphoning off grain purchases from state structures. This would be highly undesirable. The government urgently needs to find the money and pay the peasants once and for all.

Far more feed has been procured this year than last year (29.9 million tonnes as against 27 million). This amounts to 8.7 quintals per standard head. All this inspires hope that there will be no decline in livestock numbers in 1993.

Expert Opposes Price Hikes for Grain, Meat

LD0109053793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0526 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Dzyublo]

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—An expert of the Russian Centre of Economic and Political Research predicted major food price hikes by the end of the year if the government again yields to the pressure of the agrarian lobby and increases purchasing prices for grain and meat.

Vladimir Grischenko told the "IZVESTIA" newspaper on Wednesday [1 September] that if the state subsidies to bread production are lifted food prices will go up at least three times by December, a kilogramme of bread will cost 200 roubles compared to 50 at present, while meat and milk prices will jump 2-3 times.

The expert recalled that after the government yielded to the pressure of agrarians and increased grain purchasing prices to 60 thousand roubles per tonne it immediately resulted in a 30-per cent price increase for bread and a 20-per cent increase for flour. Vodka became 2.5 times as expensive.

Grischenko criticised the government for the decision as, he believes, the earlier price of 45,000 roubles per tonne

of grain was sufficient enough and guaranteed 227-per cent profitability for collective and state farms.

This year Russia is expected to harvest some 120 million tonnes of grain and farmers will have to sell it to the state as "non-state market of grain is very limited" in Russia, Grishchenko stressed. "There are no objective reasons" to further raise the grain prices, he added.

Media Affairs

Journalists Consider Strike

PM3108134793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 2

[Article by Nikita Vaynonen, member of the Committee for the Defense of Free Speech and Journalists' Rights: "Will Journalists Strike?"]

[Text] Parliament's actions against free speech are meeting with growing resistance from Russian journalists. Press workers are expressing widespread support for the joint statement published yesterday by the journalists' unions of Russia, Moscow, and St. Petersburg; the Russian Federation Journalists' Foundation; the Committee for the Defense of Free Speech and Journalists' Rights; the Foundation for the Defense of Glasnost; and the Chief Editors' Club, which firmly denounces the authorities' policy "based on taming, demeaning, and discriminating against the mass media." The idea of a strike is up in the air. The first person to call for a strike was former Press Minister M. Fedotov when he resigned. The journalists' joint statement talks of their firm resolve to "uphold freedom of speech...up to and including the creation of a strike committee." They are particularly indignant about the creation by the Supreme Soviet of the notorious Federal Oversight Council—essentially an organ for censoring television and radio—and the inclusion in the Law on the Press of amendments which turn it into a cudgel for battering free speech. A similar statement was issued yesterday by the Moscow Government's Press Affairs and Information Department. The management of Russian Television and Radio have sent a letter to Khasbulatov resolutely protesting the overt threats made on the air against journalists by full members of the parliamentary Mass Media Committee. Many journalists are directly warning that if parliament makes television return to an agitprop footing, it will have to deal with different people.

But will it come to a strike? There are precedents at local level. But this is the first time that essentially all the journalists in the country have been so serious and determined. Yesterday afternoon parliament intended to adopt a decision on amendments to the Law on the Mass Media. The results were still not known as this issue was going to press, but, judging by the deputies' previous actions, there is very little hope of a sensible, balanced decision. Of course, if the journalists are forced to strike, under no circumstances will they totally deprive the country of vitally important information. Neither our civic conscience nor our professional ethics would permit it. But those who want to exploit the media for brainwashing purposes in their own interests will probably sense that they will not succeed in turning journalists into their "assistants" once again.

Policy, Practice of Press Subsidies Eyed

PM3108114393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Aug 93 First Edition p 4

[Yelena Yakovleva article: "Which Russian Newspapers and Journals Receive Subsidies And Why"]

[Text] **How Do You Obtain a Subsidy?**

Under the Supreme Soviet's decree dated 17 July last year, the Press Ministry decides what subsidies are to be provided and to whom, coordinating this decision with the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media and the Supreme Soviet Commission for Budget, Planning, Taxes, and Prices. A commission has been set up comprising representatives of the Press Ministry and people's deputies. It also distributes subsidies in line with the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media Statute On the Principles and Procedure for Assisting the Mass Media.

In order to obtain a subsidy it is necessary to, first, be an unprofitable publication and, second, belong to one of two groups for which financial assistance is advisable. The first group includes publications for children, young people, the disabled, veterans, strata of the population without social protection, and women (apart from fashion magazines), art, popular science, and national publications, those produced by numerically small peoples, and Russian publications' printruns for their compatriots in countries that were part of the USSR. These publications are subsidized first of all. The second group comprises sociopolitical and religious-political publications, those in the languages of republics within the Russian Federation, and professional publications, including scientific and sports publications. Subsidies are allocated to these publications on the residual principle.

Commercial and erotic publications and digests are not subsidized. Those newspapers and journals founded or published by foreign corporate entities or persons were not previously subsidized.

PRAVDA and DEN Also Seek Financial Aid from the State

However, there has been a slight change of principle owing to the fact that the composition of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media has changed (it includes such well-known deputies as Astafyev and Sayenko, who are, to the sorrow of Press Ministry personnel, readers of newspapers and journals, not professional journalists). This summer a clarifying decision was adopted from which the restricting provision regarding foreign founders or publishers has disappeared. There is

every indication that this was done, Yuriy Michurin thinks, to support PRAVDA. The Supreme Soviet committee seems to have no problem in rewriting its own decision depending on the political situation, he stated.

Some Publications That Received Subsidies in the Second Quarter of 1993:

Publication	Subsidy (Million Rubles)
KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA	666.522
ARGUMENTY I FAKTY	359.726
OGONEK	183.635
SELSKAYA ZHIZN	151.990
LITERATURNAYA GAZETA	57.871
DELOVOY MIR [Business World]	43.700
RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA	41.243
SEMYA	34.090
SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA	68.470
YUNOST	22.118
KURANTY	20.741
TV-REVYU [TV-Review]	10.867
VESELYYE KARTINKI [Merry Pictures]	9.964
NASH SOVREMENNIK	7.284
KROKODIL	6.596
NOVOYE VREMYA	4.536
ROSSIYA	4.485
ROSSIYSKIY FERMER [Russian Farmer]	3.061
VEK	2.449
EMIGRATSIYA [Emigration]	1.297

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA is budget-funded and has received 1.386 billion rubles since the beginning of the year.

Interestingly, DEN, despite the fact that it ranks itself among the spiritual opposition to the government, asks the latter for subsidies. Admittedly it turned to the Supreme Soviet for support. The latter treated it very attentively. Although DEN is nominally a sociopolitical publication and seems entitled to expect financial assistance, the Press Ministry's stance is unequivocal: A newspaper that violates the Law on the Press must not receive subsidies.

"Right-" and "Left-Wing" Newspapers Are Equally Unprofitable

In theory publications' political slant does not affect the commission's decision. KURANTY, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, OGONEK, and NASH SOVREMENNIK stand cheek by jowl on the list of subsidized publications.

In order to decide how much to give and to whom, Press Ministry economists carry out an examination and produce findings. Printruns, subscription stability, and a publication's frequency of publication are taken into consideration. Paper and printing costs are reimbursed and sometimes partial circulation costs, particularly if it is a question of newspapers and journals circulated in the countries of the former USSR.

In practice we have no profitable publications today. Even SROCHNO V NOMER! [Stop-Press], the newspaper of the Economic Freedom Party (chaired by Konstantin Borovoy) has asked the ministry for help with money and premises although it was refused. Nor did MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, IZVESTIYA, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, or MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS receive subsidies this year. The new newspapers SEGODNYA and NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA, which are acquiring a reputation, did not ask the government for money either. But their subscription and retail price does not cover publishing and circulation costs. The costs are covered in all probability by advertising and commercial activity.

Subsidies are not the best solution to the problem, Yuriy Michurin believes. They help editorial offices keep afloat, but not survive. That is why the Press Ministry has repeatedly appealed to the government and Supreme Soviet: A preferential tax policy is needed, assistance can be provided by financial structures ready to invest money in various publications in the process of flotation.

At the moment most publications' printruns are falling. And the Press Ministry is unable to resolve the laws' countless contradictions. For instance, according to the Law on the Press new publications are exempt from all taxes for two years, whereas the Tax Law makes provision for no such exemption.

Why Do You Not See ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA on the List of Subsidized Publications?

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, and the journal NARODNYY DEPUTAT are certainly in the most stable economic position now. As publications founded by the supreme organs of power, they are totally budget-funded. And this means that they have no worries since the founders do not leave their publications in distress. At an extremely bleak time for newspapers, when circulations are falling and offices are being closed down, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, on the contrary, is about to open offices abroad. And not of course using its publishing income or through commercial activity, but with Russian budget funds, effectively with the taxpayers' money. More than $1.5 million a year are to be spent on this.

According to the figures as of 20 August, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA has since the beginning of the year received 1,386,212,000 rubles. That is in excess of the amount envisaged in the budget for the year. Nevertheless ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA expects to obtain additional financial support from state coffers.

Pamyat To Sue DEN for Insulting Vasilyev

LD3108123693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0802 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Aug--The headquarters of the "Pamyat" national-patriotic front has quarreled with the editorial office of the newspaper 'DEN', formerly loyal to it. In a circulated statement, "Pamyat" accused the "organ of spiritual opposition" of "insulting the honor and dignity" of their leader Dmitriy Vasilyev.

In essence the "insult" consists in the newspaper 'DEN' publishing a statement that was supposedly given to the editorial office by the headquarters of the "Pamyat" national-patriotic front and which "discredits the glorious and honorable name of Dmitriy Vasilyev." In response to the publication, the Central Council and the headquarters of "Pamyat" intend to sue the newspaper 'DEN.'

International Affairs

Kravchuk, Yeltsin To Meet in Crimea 3 Sep

LD0109103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 1 Sep 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev September 1 TASS—Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk will arrive in the Crimea for a meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin either on Thursday evening or on Friday morning [2 or 3 September]. The meeting is scheduled for September 3, ITAR-TASS was told this unofficially by a source in the press service of the Ukrainian president.

The composition of the Ukrainian delegation has not been announced. It is only known that Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov will arrive for the meeting with the president. The participation of head of the Ukrainian Cabinet Leonid Kuchma will depend on whether Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin, now on a visit in the United States, attends the meeting, it is believed here.

The meeting is expected to be held in Mukhalatka, the state summer residence of the Ukrainian president. As to the agenda, no information has been received either from the Ukrainian president's office, or from the Foreign Ministry, or the Defence Ministry.

It should be noted that in an interview with ITAR-TASS on Tuesday, head of the Russian president's administration, Sergey Filatov, said that it is planned to discuss "the entire range of ripe issues, including the widening of economic cooperation between the two biggest states of the CIS, the problems of the division of the Black Sea Fleet and the status of Sevastopol".

Oblast Council Rejects Economic Union With Russia

LD3108215093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2045 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast Council Presidium has categorically rejected Ukraine's integration in economic union with Russia and Belarus as threatening our state with the loss of sovereignty. The presidium decided this at a sitting in its broader composition with the participation of town council chairmen on 30 August. An extraordinary session is to take place at the beginning of September to discuss the political situation in Ukraine.

Official on Referendum, Ties With Russia, START

BR3108114593 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 30 Aug 93 p 4

[Interview with Ambassador to Belgium Volodymyr Vasylenko by Michel Rosten in Brussels; date not given: "Ukraine: When Will They Vote and for Whom?—Ukrainian Ambassador Explains Cancellation of Referendum"]

[Text] On 24 August Ukraine celebrated the second anniversary of its independence following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. On the occasion of the national day, Ukrainian Ambassador to Belgium Volodymyr Vasylenko agreed to answer some of our questions.

[Rosten] The referendum of confidence on the policies followed by President Kravchuk, which was to be held on 26 September, has been canceled. The promise of a popular vote would have served as a bargaining chip to end the strikes that had paralyzed the coal mines in Donbass. Surely canceling the referendum is a major social risk.

[Vasylenko] It is true that the promise of a referendum helped lower social tension, but the question that was going to be asked to the Ukrainians was not accurately worded and when the state structures in charge started making preparations for the vote, they were blocked. In addition, parliament did not release the funds for the referendum, which was quite a large investment. On top of that, the demand to allow the people to make a decision on the confidence that they felt should be given to Mr. Kravchuk was put forward in a part of Ukraine where communist forces are still very active. These forces are Russophiles; they control the regional means of information and receive aid from Moscow. In a difficult economic situation, propaganda from these circles—which aim to discredit the president and force him to resign—finds an audience. It must be understood, however, that the simultaneous dissolution of parliament and the expression of a hypothetical defiance toward the president's power would lead to economic and social chaos while at the same time creating a threat to the existence of the state.

[Rosten] Is the parliament not viewed in Kiev and Moscow as a barrier to democratization?

[Vasylenko] The fact is that it is not all that popular if you go by the various opinion polls taken. In addition, everyone knows that most of the members of parliament were appointed, not elected, since they were put in during the communist regime. Nevertheless, the biggest problem is that the parliament has very few professionals. Out of the 450 members, there are about 200 who devote themselves entirely to their parliamentary work. The rest are managers of companies, collective farms, etc.

We must hope that this body, to which we owe the declaration of independence of 24 August, will still be able to make a historic decision: calling early legislative elections. Such elections, however, are not without their risks. There are some 30 parties in Ukraine, although most of them have very few members. So there is a fear that the former communists will get most of the votes by making the most of the current economic difficulties.

[Rosten] How do you explain this lack of parliamentary professionalism?

[Vasylenko] During the communist era, the system was designed in such a way that the republics of the USSR executed Moscow's directives. For 70 years, the elite has always been attracted, if not sucked up, by the capital. When the empire disintegrated, one could not help but notice that Kiev had very few political experts left. In addition, for economic reasons or reasons of supply (such as the shortage of housing), very few people returned from Moscow. As a result, we had to keep most of the communists in their posts. That may appear counterproductive, but firing them would have been a violation of their human rights and would have caused a complete vacuum within the administrative structures.

[Rosten] Mr. Kozyrev announced in Stockholm that a bilateral agreement on the nuclear dispute between Kiev and Moscow was ready. The Ukrainian minister of defense denied this. Where do things stand?

[Vasylenko] The information issued by the Russian minister of foreign affairs was not correct. The negotiations are not yet finished. I would like to stress that we are not demanding to keep the missiles or nuclear warheads. We only want our share of enriched uranium or financial compensation.

[Rosten] During his meeting in June with U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspin, Mr. Kravchuk promised that he would quickly settle the nuclear problem that was blocking the implementation of the agreements achieved within the framework of START I and START II. Apparently, however, there has been no progress.

[Vasylenko] Ukraine expressed its wish to become a nuclear-free state. Mr. Aspin was told that everything would be done to speed up the START I ratification process. However, in so far as Ukraine renounces any nuclear guarantee, it would like guarantees of security. In addition, if it ratifies the agreement, it must be able to apply it. To do that it needs money, technology, and experience—all of which it lacks. It would not be normal for Ukraine to spend huge amounts of money to make it possible to implement an agreement in which it had not even taken part.

[Rosten] The dispute about the Black Sea fleet is still a problem in your relations with Moscow. Do you see any solution to this?

[Vasylenko] Messrs. Kravchuk and Yeltsin have signed agreements on this issue, but Russia is not complying with them. After the last compromise, which called for equitable sharing (50-50), the Russian parliament reacted by making public its claims to the port of Sebastopol. Such behavior is worrying in so far as a demand to maintain a military force on the territory of another republic closely resembles a condition for restoring the empire.

Talks Held With U.S. Officials on Aid

LD0109095993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Kiev, 31 Aug—Negotiations opened here on 30 August until 1 September on the U.S. technical and financial assistance to Ukraine aimed at the implementaton of specific programs for the elimination of strategic nuclear weapons. At issue is a grant of $175 billion, in line with the Nunn-Lugar amendment. This amendment regulates the U.S. defense department's spending for the 1993 fiscal year. A framework agreement is being negotiated to define the legal basis for the elimination of nuclear weapons by Ukraine.

The U.S. delegation is being led by Ambassador at Large James Goodby, and the Ukrainian delegation by Lieutenant General Oleksiy Kryzhko.

Ukrainian 'Volunteers' Withdrawn From Abkhazia

LD3008205793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]—"Ukrainian volunteers have already been withdrawn from Abkhaz territory," reported Anatoliy Lupynis, chairman of the political consultative body [referentura] of the UNA [Ukrainian National Assembly], at a news conference on 30 August. Representatives of a delegation from the "Georgian Salvation Corps" government committee also expressed their gratitude to UNSO [Ukrainian National Self-Defense] men for courage demonstrated in the Georgian-Abkhaz war and said that some of them had been recommended for the highest Georgian Government award, the Vakhtang Gorgasali First Class.

Interviewed by a UNIAN correspondent, Longi Cherlidze, deputy chairman of the committee, stated that Georgia will apply to the United Nations through Eduard Shevardnadze for peacekeeping forces on its territory, particularly Ukrainian forces. "I want to believe that there will be armed forces units in Georgia from Ukraine, rather than from Russia."

Commentary Views Economic Ties With Iran

AU3108181193 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 27 Aug 93 p 10

[Serhiy Danylenko commentary: "We Need To Be Pragmatic"]

[Text] **There are states in the world around which political passions, once they arise, constantly boil and stereotypes take shape, although, in many cases, this is not justified in the new world conditions. The Islamic Republic of Iran is one of them.**

The price of excessive preoccupation with political cliches is well known to us from the times of the Soviet Union. In how to get rid of this, our young state may

follow the example of the steps taken by the West, that same West that has quite complicated relations with Iran in its official policy. While the United States and Great Britain were engaged in adamant propagandistic debates with Iran, two of the most advanced countries—Japan and Germany—wasted no time. For example, Japan granted Iran a loan of $1.5 billion. This money will be used for building the "Kartun-4" dam.

Moreover, FRG Chancellor Kohl sent a special message to the Iranian leadership in which he spoke, in particular, about "removing potential obstacles on the road toward the development of bilateral relations and the intensification of political, economic, and cultural cooperation between the two countries." Incidentally, Germany occupies a major place among Iran's trade partners.

The importance of the Iranian market during the world economic recession leads Western governments to settle political differences in their relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran. That one can now drink a glass of American Coca-Cola on the streets of Tehran is, probably, an insignificant but symbolic sign of the intensification of trade ties between Iran and the United States. Statistical data also indicate that, over the last three years, U.S. exports to Iran rose fivefold and reached $780 million. It is unlikely that there will be a decrease in these exports—just the opposite. The fact that the International Monetary Fund has recognized the Iranian rial as a convertible currency only further stimulates Western businessmen.

Regarding political passions, those who have visited Iran in the past one or two years say that the country no longer fits the stereotype of an exclusively theocratic state. The return of former emigrants to their homeland and the re-election of the pragmatic Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the post of Iranian president testifies to the internal stability of the Iranian regime. Incidentally, the present Iranian president has denounced the administrative command system of ruling the country and is consistently introducing market mechanisms into the Iranian economy.

Regarding Ukrainian-Iranian ties, the political principles in the relations between our countries were set during Ukrainian President Kravchuk's visit to Teheran. They were also confirmed during this year's visit to Iran of the parliamentary delegation headed by the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, I. Plyushch. Here, one can talk of a success of Ukrainian diplomacy that has far surpassed its CIS neighbors in the direction of Iran.

Such a trend seems to be perfectly justified and advantageous to both sides. This is, first and foremost, due to the fact that our states may offer each other those goods that are in demand on their respective markets. Besides, the prices also suit both Ukrainian and Iranian customers. Incidentally, even in the times of the Soviet Union, channels for the exchange of such products were already established, and we do not have to pave them anew.

For example, the Iranian side is ready to offer us its light industry products and some foodstuffs. As regards deliveries of Iranian oil to Ukraine and the building, for this purpose, of a stretch of oil pipeline, much has already been said and written and there is no need to repeat things. This question is now becoming even more topical, because Turkey is going to close the Black Sea routes to the passage of oil tankers. Therefore, hopes for terminals near Odessa may not materialize.

Ukraine, in turn, may export to Iran those goods that are not in demand on the oversaturated European market. For example, oil- extraction equipment, turbines, generators, and other equipment for hydroelectric power plants.

In recent history, the world's leading countries repeatedly demonstrated their readiness to revise their policy in favor of their economic needs. Other countries also adhere to this rule, thereby assimilating the age-old experience of world leaders.

We must also be pragmatic in the present difficult situation that prevails in Ukraine. Namely, in specifying our priorities in external economic ties, we must not "worship" the West alone. We have simply no right to assign a minor role to the Middle East—a region that is so important for our state, a region that is rich in energy sources and goods that Ukraine badly needs, a region where the output of Ukrainian enterprises will be in demand. It is Iran that may and must become a bridge to it. Academician M. Hrushevskyy wrote, in his time, that "It is from the Black Sea Region, via Iran, whose influences and reverberations we feel at every step, that we could proceed to Afghanistan and India."

National Affairs

Vice Premier Pynzenyk Relieved of Duties

LD3108153093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree relieving Viktor Mykhaylovych Pynzenyk of the post of vice prime minister of Ukraine for economic reform issues, at his own request.

Presidential Edict Appoints Deputy Defense Minister

AU3108060293 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 26 Aug 93 p 6

["Ukrainian Presidential Edict on Appointing Ukraine's Deputy Minister of Defense" issued in Kiev on 21 August]

[Text] To appoint Lieutenant General OLIYNYK, Ivan Ivanovych as Ukraine's deputy minister of defense.

[Signed] L. Kravchuk, President of Ukraine
[Dated] Kiev, 21 August 1993

Kuchma Addresses Supreme Council 31 Aug

LD3108124393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma at Supreme Council session in Kiev—live]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, esteemed president, esteemed chairman. What you are holding in your hands now is both the government's action program and the Cabinet of Ministers' official report attached to it. I, as prime minister, would like to express my ideas with regard to the situation in Ukraine's economy.

Nobody is to blame for the fact that the economic crisis is continuing and will continue. Take a careful look at the map of Europe: Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, and even eastern Germany are going through, putting it mildly, not the best of times. To swap spades for computers, to swap the socialist economy for a market one has proved difficult even for the countries which lived under this [socialist] economy for only half the time Ukraine did.

You can curse the heritage we received from the former Soviet Union. By the way, back in 1990, the Institute of Economy at the Academy of Sciences made calculations which proved undeniably that if Ukraine separated its economy from the economies of other republics in the Soviet Union, it would suffer losses, while Ukraine's deficit in the trade balance with Russia would amount to $9.7 billion.

Ukraine won its independence the hard way, so let us say frankly: We accepted independence without any heritage, just to have the land of our fathers under our feet. And if you take this simple truth as a reference point, then our ideologues will no longer have to lure their citizens to their native country with a piece of pork fat or bread. I for one refused to accept this kind of policy from the very beginning, for you don't love your own mother because she is rich.

That is why, everything I say from here on about Ukraine's economy, I will say for those who voted for the state of Ukraine in December 1991 not for the sake of immediate affluence, not for the sake of exclusively capitalist or other reforms, not for the sake of being a big fish in a big pond.

Thus, it is my firm conviction that today Ukraine is poor, speaking first of all of oil, gas, and nonferrous metals. It is from these components that any industry and agriculture begins. This year, the price of oil in karbovantsi has risen almost six-fold. I asked many foreign economists openly: Would their country withstand such a price shock? All of them lowered their eyes and said nothing in reply. Generally speaking, I think that it is the last record of our, still administrative to the backbone, economy. Because we are, although beaten, still alive.

References to the fact that Russia, which has enough of its own energy resources is, to put it mildly, not prosperous, are I think, groundless. Russia, too, inherited an inefficient economy, which, incidentally, is proved by the budget deficit endorsed by Russia's Supreme Soviet for 1994 at the level of 30 percent. Their prices for energy sources are also rising madly, and they too will reach the world level. We are only ahead of Russia in this by half a year or a year.

There is, of course, one more crucial difference between our economy and Russia's. In the Soviet Union, Ukraine had the role of some kind of Japan in the division of labor. Products at the lower stages of processing were flooding in here to return to other republics and to be exported as finished or half-finished products. At the basis of this primitive assembly line lay cheap energy resources and almost free railroads and pipelines. Today, highly skilled Ukrainian labor, especially at defense enterprises, is left on a meager ration. Moreover, we are gradually being left out of the labor division, pushing us away from our traditional markets, first of all from the Russian market, and I am afraid the day will come when we will be kicked out from these markets as from the ruble zone before we manage to get our foot in the door of the Western ones.

I would advise the deputies to wait for the latest studies of the National Institute for Strategic Studies made at the end of this August in order to see for themselves that there are no structural signs of falling production. That is, the fall is taking place not at the expense of unprofitable, resource-consuming enterprises but spontaneously, in all sectors of the economy, first of all damaging the promising sectors of technological breakthrough.

If anyone thinks that any government is capable of turning Ukraine from a Soviet Japan to a real post-industrial country, with a carefully balanced economic and productive system, within a few months, I will tell them: People, wake up! Look around, stop entertaining illusions. Apart from ourselves, nobody will build a really rich Ukraine. And the day when agrarians and industrialists in this chamber demand new technologies and investments from the government with the same persistency as they demand cheap loans and mutual account settlement, I will gladly say on that day that we are no longer poor.

But today I am saying that our economy will not withstand such a swift transition to world prices, first of all, the people will not withstand it. We have already gotten ourselves into a debt to Russia as a result of a traditionally negative trade balance. Following from all this, we will not be able to stabilize the national currency unit.

All this is, really, our tragedy but not a disaster. Pressed on all sides, we are forced with an incentive for a rapid development: to survive today and to prosper tomorrow. Today's poverty must not be confused with Ukraine's real potential. Simply, no one in Ukraine knows yet how to dispose of our potential wealth.

You can become politically independent in an hour but you need years to adapt industry and agriculture to the new conditions. Only a lasting, gradual process of technological modernization will enable our industry and agriculture to change the structure of the national product. This is continuous, hard, everyday work, first of all legislative work proceeding not from political ambitions but from economic pragmatism. Even with continuous hard work in the conditions of an unheard of time shortage typical of a young state which is only two years old, not everything can be done in time. Frankly speaking, issuing decrees was a large and unnecessary burden for the government. We now have more time to examine the issues of the day, but look how we all lost from this [power to issue decrees] because the Supreme Council with its procedures and the actual set-up of political forces cannot react quickly to the changes in the economic situation.

This is a mere statement of fact; 75 draft laws submitted by the Cabinet of Ministers, of which 30 are urgent, have not been considered yet. Meanwhile, life goes on, and it cannot wait. There is our unused potential.

Now that life has raised an urgent problem of preparing a new draft constitution, now that there is no escaping active preparation for the new election, the Supreme Council will slow down even more its law-making in the economic sphere, whether it likes it or not. If one proceeds from the principle of some of our irreconcilable politicians and admit that the main reason for the economic decline is the executive power, then everything would be normal under the principle of the worse, the better, but I am convinced that the majority of my colleagues in this chamber adhere to a different logic. No economic crisis is caused by purely economic reasons; there are always other factors involved. Here there are at least two of them: one is a crisis of conscience, and the other is a structural crisis. The former will last for a long time. Its roots lie in the reassessment of values, it relates to our history. The structural crisis is the heritage Ukraine received. We have what we have.

The crisis of conscience results in an economy with a low executive discipline, no incentive, no enterprise, expectation of so-called social protection from the state, and attempts to hide from the future and return to the past. The latter is especially damaging. Naturally, when people are uncertain, undecided, it affects labor productivity and thus the well-being of the individual, the family, and of society. And the longer this indecision, the deeper the crisis.

If only the Supreme Council arrived at a majority, through election, with its socioeconomic program, if this majority appointed a government, this would mean that there is a single center of power and a single center of reform implementation. So far we do not have it, and nobody is to blame for it. This is how events in Ukraine developed, and that is why any government would have to adjust to the variety of circumstances that dominated and continue to dominate the time and space: to eastern, central, and western regions, in summer and in winter, to peasants and industrialists. Nobody's interests are the same and perhaps never will be, but there is no single definite vision. Eventually we need to get going.

This is why it is most expedient that the whole socioeconomic policy should be carried out by the government as a single center before the new elections—the whole of the policy from the concept to its implementation. Moreover, the concept itself is needed. The program is a necessary hindrance whichever way one moves: forward or backward it is a hindrance.

Just one example which none of the programs has an answer to: Today the question of oil does not exist. It can be obtained from Russia, Turkey, Iran, or the Arab countries. The question is how to pay for it. Whomever I ask how we are to pay closes their eyes and keeps silent. There is nothing with which to pay. Our distant friends have not given us a single cent in credit. What Russia has given to us has been loaned—besides, it was interest free. Russia gave us $1 billion. In the end, Russia also said: Enough!

This is why it is simply strange for me to listen and read in the last month the authoritative instructions from some of my colleagues in the hall about how we are supposed to love Ukraine in earnest. In reality they do not know how to measure patriotism. I hope that it is not by the length of the ponytails on their heads, but at this time it is not a question of somebody's ambitions. If you like, it is now a question of constitutional discipline, and I am forced to turn to the parliament for help.

Really, in our present relations with Russia and other CIS countries, there is a question which the government and the president do not have the right to decide without the Supreme Council. In the absence of a principled decision by the parliament the government cannot work out the mechanisms, proportions, details, and the dates of our cooperation with our neighbors. In my opinion the Supreme Council must adopt a principled decision on this question today. If deputies require some more time in order to resolve this question then it is necessary to determine this by means of a vote: When to agree a new period of meetings with the Russian leadership and whether to agree on this at all.

Please address this question immediately because the loss of Russian markets is making the government program unrealistic. Unless there is a political decision in this hall, I personally will not go to the negotiations because I am used to being responsible for my words, fulfilling agreements, and being a serious and firm

partner. It is honestly impossible to build a program based on the fact that we obtained and are obtaining oil and gas from Russia.

Therefore, the program also contains such questions which the government itself is not able to examine. Because today the question of where to obtain money is not only an economic one but above all a political one. In Russia the question of foreign credits is one that belongs to the Supreme Soviet and our people's deputies can reach a decision precisely with the Russian parliament, whether it is about the debt, credits, compensation, or something else. The president and the government should work a little. If there are going to be better proposals then please put them forward. I will be the most ardent supporter of any realistic draft.

Furthermore, the negative foreign trade balance will not provide the opportunity to stop inflation in a short period because it is connected with the fact that products manufactured in Ukraine lead to a loss of around 5 kopecks for every karbovanets. Against this background the monetary principle of a change in the structure of the national product is not working—however attractive it may seem, in theory even irreproachable.

The situation which unfolds is that the whole deficit of Ukraine's trade balance account for 1993 will be 18.6 trillion karbovantsi [number as heard] and 31.5 trillion karbovantsi in trading operations. This includes 11.9 and 24.8 trillion karbovantsi respectively with Russia. If you are a debtor then you must have something to pay back. How can the government repay the debts? Does it have property at its disposal? No! Means of production, buildings, land? They are even covered in cement and are indivisible—a status common to the whole people, loss-making but common to the whole people. Sometimes it is (?insufficient).

Therefore, until we reform the economy we will need to borrow for our livelihood. Dependence? It is as clear as heaven. I am convinced that people's deputies above all believe not in the magical force of programs but in the decisive steps of their implementation.

Measures which must be introduced immediately: I have already informed the Supreme Council in June of this year but they did not become a subject for discussion and no decisions were adopted, and along with them there were specific points and I continue to insist that it is necessary to introduce them immediately. Some of them are already being implemented. The majority require the Supreme Council's support. I consider it necessary to say that what is not contained in the government's report which has been distributed to you is not contained in the government's economic reform program: about the political preconditions for the implementation of any economic program.

I do not at all subscribe to the introduction of a state of emergency in Ukraine, which somehow is being attributed to me with amazing persistency. Any emergency measures stand a chance of success only when there are mechanisms for their implementation, when the interested social strata or groups are sufficiently consolidated and work steadily together with those in power. By itself, a state of emergency will not get us anywhere, it will only put the society and the world community off track.

Economic emergency measures in our conditions of an economic emergency are a grim necessity of life, which I have stressed more than once. To put these measures off till tomorrow would mean losing today. As emergency measures should be taken in the economic sphere itself, it is only the Cabinet of Ministers which is capable of implementing them.

Now I will dwell on my vision of what the government's necessary powers should be in the socioeconomic sphere. Until the new parliamentary elections, these are: first, creation of a single and complete vertically structured executive power, with the subordination of local state administrations to the Cabinet of Ministers; second, giving the government the power of issuing decrees without delay for urgent regulation of social and economic processes; third, subordination of the National Bank to the government; fourth, giving the prime minister the power to appoint and dismiss heads of ministries and departments, apart from those singled out by the Constitution, and to set up and disband executive power units.

I want to be understood correctly. I did not come here today to push a program through or to ask for powers again. I already warned the parliament in April and May that political spinelessness and the absence of strong executive power in the country would lead to further deepening of the crisis. And today I am absolutely convinced that if we had enough wisdom to overburden the parliament with the drafting of a new constitution, preparations for new elections, by giving all other legislative powers to the president until the new elections and giving the government all the powers to resolve economic problems then neither a new price rise, poverty, nor strikes would threaten Ukraine. I have expressed my view and will not change it. The president must have legislative power, the prime minister—the executive power and the Supreme Council—must have a constitution by the end of March 1994. May God help every one of us to fulfill our duty conscientiously.

Thank you for your attention.

Kuchma, Zvyahilskyy Most Popular Politicians in Donetsk

LD3008200793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] [no dateline as received]—The sociological firm Inkop [name as received] has conducted an opinion poll among residents of the city of Donetsk, eastern Ukraine, concerning the popularity of local political leaders and the Ukrainian leadership. It turned out that the rating of Leonid Kuchma and Yukhym Zvyahilskyy was the highest: 44 and 43 percent of those polled sympathized

with them accordingly. The activity of Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Supreme Council Speaker Ivan Plyushch was assessed to be positive by 10 and 11 percent of Donetsk residents accordingly. Sociologists also found that 76 percent of respondents favored a referendum on confidence (non-confidence) in the Ukrainian president, and 55 percent in the Supreme Council. The demand to introduce regional self-government was supported by 64 percent of those polled. In the event that the government does not meet the demands of those who were on strike, 66 percent of Donetsk residents are prepared to resume the strike and seven percent are ready for civil disobedience and military actions.

Kravchuk Discusses Reform, Current Issues

WS2708053093 Kiev KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian 20 Aug 93 p 1, 8-9

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by Tamara Grabovskaya and Viktor Nikipelov; place and date not given: "About Challenges of Life and Our Hopes"]

[Text] [KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Our country is now experiencing a severe political and economic crisis accompanied by a sharp drop in the standard of living. Today, most of us ask the following question: How are we to live?

We turn with this question first of all to you, the president of Ukraine...

[Kravchuk] That's a very difficult question. To answer it, I would like to single out two points. First, there is a large group of people—disabled persons, pensioners, students, servicemen, civil servants—for whom even in these tough times, the state must ensure a sufficient living standard necessary for meeting all of their basic needs. This is the case in all countries of the world.

My second point concerns a category of people that participates directly in production. All across the world, people seek to manufacture high-quality goods and sell them; the higher their profit, the higher their wages. In the situation that has recently taken shape in our country, everyone turns toward the government and president. I have frequently heard the following statement: We elected you, so give us higher wages. No doubt, they need to be increased—there are so many people leading poor lives these days. Still, we have no funds for that because we simply have not earned them. Another question is: Has the government created all the conditions for this? Though I cannot say "yes," let me make everything clear.

We are told that energy sources should not be sold at world prices. But can we count on living in greenhouse-like conditions? Is it possible that everyone except Ukraine will produce and sell their products according to market conditions? Of course, not.

If we continue with our present level of productivity, production, and quality, we will never be able to change our lives, and this cannot be helped by any president or government.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] What conditions are needed then to make everything work efficiently?

[Kravchuk] They are simple. First of all, one should ensure a genuine freedom for private initiative. There should be no restrictions for a man who is willing to work in the sphere of, say, production. Borders, customs, taxes, financial and banking systems, and credits should become civilized and encourage production. This is what I refer to as conditions. All the rest depends on manufacturers. Certainly, you can demand that the government pay out higher salaries, even if they are not earned. This, however, will not make people rich. Never, ever! This has been confirmed by the history of all countries of the world. So, all of us—working teams, high- and medium-level managers, councils—should seek a way out of the situation. Noone should expect preferential treatment. The following order holds true throughout the world: Those who win, produce better and cheaper. If production becomes inefficient, it shuts down. There is nothing else that I can propose.

Sometimes, the following idea is suggested: Everything was planned, provided, and distributed in the past; still, we were no richer. How efficient was that distribution? Some time ago, the former Soviet Union borrowed $84 billion in credits to buy suits, butter, and bread, leaving technology on prehistoric levels, while at the same time, China borrowed half that sum and used it to boost production. Today, we are having to deal with the results of such policies.

If someone wants to say that independence reduced us to our present condition, this would be an outright lie. Our technology doomed us to lag behind and threw us back 40-50 years in the textile and food industries compared to the leading economic powers.

Everyone says now: The prime minister, president, and Supreme Council have made many mistakes. But will the new people bring any changes, produce more bread and butter, or reduce prices? These are mere illusions. Everything will remain as it is. I am not saying this because someone clutches onto power, but worse, because a new spiral of power struggle will lead to an even bigger slump in production.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Incidentally, Leonid Makarovych, do you not think that all the setbacks in our reforms can be explained by the excessive political struggle? After all, it is not politics or politicians that should be a priority. If the Supreme Council, Cabinet of Ministers, and the president had agreed one year ago—when the basics of our economic policies had not yet been approved—to launch privatization, corporatization, and issuing shares, we would have half as many problems as we do today. For example, there would not

be a single strike called by a working team that leased its enterprise. Is this fact good enough?

[Kravchuk] Even today we are not capable of solving the issues of privatization and land ownership. We have hundreds of unfinished enterprises. Nevertheless, there are people interested in them. They also want to buy the land on which those enterprises are located. Do you know anyone who would run an enterprise without owning the land?

Unfortunately, we have no such laws to date. Our state, which will never finish construction of the above enterprises due to our lack of funds, would rather botch the production instead. It behaves like a dog in a barn.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Why is that happening?

[Kravchuk] Because those who are in charge of new policies and supposed to assume greater responsibility are not completely sure that there is no turning back and that one must only go forward. There is only one road ahead—the road to a free market.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Can the president not use his authority to influence the executive branch and ensure necessary conditions?

[Kravchuk] No, he cannot. I do not have sufficient support in the Ukrainian legislature. Moreover, just because it is my proposal, the legislators would deliberately vote against it. The same thing, as you know, is happening in the Russian legislature. A notion is intensively promoted today that we would be better off without the president and the presidential structures. This idea appeals to many people. I am not afraid to say that the Presidency is currently preventing those many from pursuing their goals. This was the first point. The second point is that the Presidency is a new thing in our lives. After all, we had the Cabinet of Ministers before—only it was called the Council of Ministers. We also had the Supreme Soviet with its powers, local soviets, party institutions, etc.

Now that the president and presidential structures have emerged, those people attempt to convince people that it is the president who is responsible and must be blamed for all that is wrong. When, for instance, the Supreme Council makes a decision, people address their demands for its cancellation to me. In other words, they come to see me as if I were a czar or a dictator who can prevent anything with a stroke of a pen. They do not understand that I would have to break the law, the Constitution. If I were to overstep that boundary just one time, that, exactly, is where the road to dictatorship begins.

Should we go back and ignore the law and public opinion once again? Today, they take to the streets and speak freely, but tomorrow, they would immediately feel that such activity is forbidden. Papers delivering harsh criticism would stop printing what they want. Things would resemble the old order because we are ready to go back more than we are ready to move forward, which is a distinguishing trait of our society. This is why I cannot influence the legislature. Power must not exceed legal limits. If it does, it takes the form of a dictatorship. This is why we have to live through all this. They tried to get me to make this move many times. I remember when the GKChP [Emergency Committee established by the plotters of the 1991 abortive coup in the Soviet Union] arose, an idea prevailed that all partocrats were to be blamed and that they should be removed, put on trial, etc. I said: Only on the basis of laws and court rulings. If the president or the Supreme Council were to bring everyone to trial and put them jail, then this power would no longer be democratic, and maybe even worse than in the past. So we should carefully watch our every step. There are so many years of dictatorship, the centrally planned system, and twisted mentality that we should be particularly careful while beginning our new life. One false move today, several more tomorrow, and we will eventually end up on the same path we just abandoned...

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Could you say a couple of words about your perception of the financial and banking system?

[Kravchuk] It is entirely flawed. Viktor Yushchenko, the new chairman of the Board of the National Bank, is making significant steps to adjust this system to the market. In the past, there were merely affiliated departments of the Russian banks. Now, we have to create our own system adapted to the new market conditions. This is not an easy thing. We are confronted with many problems here, including backward mentalities and poor technical equipment in our banks.

Sometimes they compare us to Poland, while forgetting that Poland had always been a state with own institutions, whether good or bad. It had its power, monetary, financial, and banking systems. We started practically from scratch. Ukraine was a province that had only branches of central institutions. Everything was done for the sake of a single state—the Soviet Union. So we must grapple with two tasks simultaneously—creating the state and developing our economy. However, when you already have all those institutions in place, it is easier to develop the economy.

We used to manage only 7 percent of the property, leaving the other 93 percent for the Union's ministries. We just fulfilled orders and did not resolve problems for the benefit of Ukraine. This can be corroborated with scores of examples.

One should also take into account the size of our state, with its 53 million inhabitants and huge agricultural and industrial complex. Still, the most difficult thing is our incredibly complex structure of industry which consumes twice as much oil as, for instance, Japan. Moreover, Japan uses as much gasoline as Ukraine, having twice as many inhabitants. Look at the heavy concentration of our chemical, metallurgical, and energy-intensive machine-building industries. Out of all this, only 15-16

percent produce for the people. We would point out, however, that since the conversion program began, this number has increased. Just imagine: 35 percent of the entire military-industrial complex was located in Ukraine!

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Apparently, this is the reason for the shortages of basic staples..?

[Kravchuk] Yes, people do not need the majority of the output of those enterprises. Some suggest that we restore all our ties with Russia, but even in Russia plants are reducing their production due to cutbacks in their Army. These are merely illusions. It does not take our will alone to restore the ties. Russia, Belarus, the Baltic countries, which are well advanced in terms of solving these problems, should also be interested in this.

Does Ukraine really need all of these ties to survive? We have to establish them with Russia and Belarus, but one should not forget about the West because by cutting ourselves off from modern technology and moving toward the East, we doom ourselves to an even greater degree of backwardness.

Let me repeat it once again: I support economic ties and economic commonwealth between equal states—in the first place with Russia, since it is our main partner. Such partnership relations, however, must be mutually beneficial.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] What about your relations with Russian President Yeltsin and, of course, your understanding of the Sevastopol and Black Sea fleet issue? Unfortunately, many people in Ukraine and Russia are on opposite extremes of this issue.

[Kravchuk] This is a complex and acute problem because the interests of Ukraine, Russia, and most importantly, the fleet's staff cross here. It would be much easier to divide the Black Sea fleet without the people. However, officers are serving on every ship. They are real, living people and have their own interests concerning their salary and place of service. So we must also divide people, which would affect the lives of tens of thousands of people. This is why there are three questions here, in addition to the problem of Sevastopol itself. I realize that no decision could be made as quickly as we might like.

A false move on either side might lead to unpredicted events. We have no right to make a mistake. Both myself and Yeltsin, including our governments, understand this fact. Unfortunately, the legislators do not. Even if they do, overcome by hatred for their president and the desire to spite him, they are ready to go as far as to pit Russia against Ukraine. I think that this is a disgraceful page in the history of the Russian legislature, which has seriously undermined its integrity and authority. This is evidenced by a statement of the UN Security Council chairman disagreeing with allegations that since the Ukrainian-Russian treaty was signed in 1990, it has no legal force. The international community found that it does have legal force, declaring the decision by the Russian legislature void.

So, as you can see, when people are hostile, fail to comply with international and interstate norms, and when they take only a part of a problem and start to blow it out of proportion, they become a laughingstock. Since the Russian president and Government deeply understand those problems, they have distanced themselves from that decision. Speaking about relations with Boris Yeltsin, they are normal. We understand the importance of good-neighborliness and friendly relations between our countries.

After all, Russia, too, is building its independence and we must respect that fact and help one another. This is a priority today. Only political hawks and extremists seek to kindle the conflicts, failing to imagine how grave the consequences of this might be. I am glad that the Russian president, Government, and Foreign Ministry make their decisions based on international principles. As for the Russian legislature, a lot has already been said about it.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] It seems that every time your and Yeltsin's positions become closer, the Russian legislature responds with negative flares.

[Kravchuk] They immediately accuse Yeltsin of building capitalism, selling the people into slavery, and masquerade as guardians supposedly keeping the people from poverty...

Yes there is poverty, but the question remains: Has someone thought about what happens if we reverse course? If the planned economy is reintroduced, will farmers, kolkhoz workers, cooperatives, or agribusinesses immediately welcome it back and give their products to the state? They will not. It is already a different system and different people who behave in a different manner.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] By the way, the same is true with regard to Ukraine.

[Kravchuk] Exactly. Some people would say that the state must take care of distribution, others insist that the state must control production. How can this be done today? Has anyone thought about this? What would happen if I ordered some metallurgical plant to produce a certain amount of steel? They would say: Supply us with everything that we need for production, including coke and coal.

I cannot guarantee anything to these people. What can I give them? Most raw materials come from outside Ukraine. In this case, the producer would have a right to say: "Give me everything that I need and then, give me orders." Or else: "Let me look for raw materials myself, but buy the final product at world prices." We need time for implementing this.

Other nations are lucky to have passed this stage earlier, while we have been destined to face it now. I have always been repeating one phrase and I want to repeat it for you: Neither the current legislature nor the president can make Ukraine rich. We will need many years to become rich. However, through a well-balanced policy we will be able to safeguard peace in Ukraine. This is the major factor for making Ukraine rich.

Take Yugoslavia, for example, where 200,000 people have been killed. Some time ago, I met with our lawmakers who visited Yugoslavia—Marmazov, Korneyev, and Pavlychko. Sarajevo looks like Stalingrad. More than 2 million refugees have fled Yugoslavia. They say that even garbage cans have been distributed between local residents. Do those people calling for strikes and political actions have any idea what can happen as a result of such actions?

Suppose we ban all branches of administration now, including the Supreme Council, president, and government. This would lead to total chaos. Chaos is an uncontrolled process that brings to the surface all the most negative forces. It will be very difficult to restore order afterwards.

This is why I see my main task as strengthening administration and boosting economic reforms. This must be done in such a way as to demonstrate to the people that there is no other way. First of all, we must protect people's lives, plants, factories, and the land. In this case, we will be able to create a dignified society. If the leadership, and the nation in general, lacked wisdom we would push Ukraine toward a clash. We are grown people and we must be aware of the terrible consequences this might cause. It is not time to blame anyone. It is time we started creating.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Assessing your actions, what mistakes have been made?

[Kravchuk] First of all, we lacked perseverance in carrying out reform. We should have turned to the Supreme Council again and again, every time the program was rejected, and we should have adopted privatization measures. We have failed to do this. On the other hand, we have not worked out our strategy, we have been busy improving our tactics. As of today, we are still unable to define the structure of our industry.

We cannot support all the factories; this is not realistic. Thus, we must disregard some of them and help others. Of course, there are priorities, including agriculture, medical care, power engineering, power resources, and everything a man needs for day-to-day living.

Still, we are afraid of making resolute steps; we cannot imagine how a factory can be closed down and people forced from their jobs. However, unemployment does now exist. I cannot furnish precise data, but I am not afraid to say that a huge percentage of employees are paid for doing nothing.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Is this some special kind of welfare?

[Kravchuk] Yes, in fact this is a dole, although we claim that it does not exist. I have often said: Let us tell people the truth; let us tell them that we cannot keep everything in its previous state, because we do not need many things that were produced before. There is no demand for many of the things produced here—neither the military nor civilians need them. What shall we do? People should be entrusted with privatizing their enterprises and deciding for themselves what to manufacture. Of course, we will have to assist these enterprises at the beginning, but this will be a better solution than paying people for nothing, while the enterprises stand idle. However, there are worse situations when enterprises produce useless goods and waste power, gas, and oil bought with convertible currency. This often makes people angry. They do not understand why they have to manufacture worthless products and waste precious power resources.

Today, we are afraid of taking resolute measures, but we will have to come to this all the same. We cannot postpone this decision any longer and hope that someone will do this tomorrow and grant us another peaceful night. This dangerous way of thinking has no future.

There are attempts to scare people with a possible social flare-up. Today, this transition can be achieved step by step and according to a plan, while tomorrow, the situation may abruptly change . Then, a terrible social eruption may occur.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] We have arrived at a very important issue, that of lawmakers' responsibility for adopted laws. The laws adopted by the lawmakers are very often of secondary importance. I understand that a law on veterinary science is important, but not more important than the Constitution and the laws on privatization and property.

[Kravchuk] You are speaking of the laws determining our policy, the course of the state, while veterinary science....

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] ....is something on which the lawmakers are not afraid to vote.

[Kravchuk] Such is our legislature—a reflection of the situation in society. This is the reason that the Supreme Council is unable to adopt all the necessary laws today. They hold different opinions, wage wars, and waste time, while important laws still wait to be adopted. I am afraid that our legislature will hardly be able to adopt all these laws in the near future. I cannot blame the lawmakers, because their actions are prompted by their environment. In civilized democracies, some parties win elections and have a majority in the legislature. A prime minister or a president has support from his party and he knows that his policy will enjoy support from a majority of deputies. When I come to the Supreme Council, I do not know who feels sympathy for me and toward whom I should direct my efforts.

Chairman Plyushch leads this parliament under extremely complicated conditions. He sometimes says: "This law will be rejected, while this other law may be adopted depending on the circumstances."

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] At the same time, capitalism is being born in Ukraine. So far, this is occurring primarily in the fields of finance and banking. However, in the next stage, this capital will probably be invested in real estate and means of production. Today, the legislature is hindering such processes.

[Kravchuk] This is true. We have already talked about the reasons.... I can give you another example. People have a lot of convertible currency that they keep in their homes. Deposited in banks, this money could be used for investment. The state would gain from this and the people would receive interest. However, people do not trust the state. Someone may deposit his savings in a bank, come and ask for say, 10,000 [currency not specified]. He can be told: "We do not have money at the moment." Can you imagine a similar situation in the United States? This would mean the end of the bank, all newspapers and the television would report this. They say that people keep billions of dollars in their homes and the state makes no use of this money.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] The next question concerns the upcoming referendum. Opinions are divided—some say that the referendum must be held, while others claim that it is inexpedient to spend huge sums of money on this undertaking. What is your opinion?

[Kravchuk] The decision on whether to hold the referendum rests with the Supreme Council. With regard to my opinion, I am not against the referendum. How can I be against it when the people want it? However, there is a wrinkle in the current legislation. According to Article 46 of the Law on Referendums, the results of the latter have no legal authority and can be viewed only as results of a public opinion poll.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Do you think we can afford such an expensive opinion poll given the current circumstances?

[Kravchuk] Yes, this will be an expensive undertaking. I have found myself in a ticklish situation. On the one hand, I cannot say that Ukraine does not need a referendum because in this case, people would say that I am simply afraid of its results. On the other hand, even though the referendum has no legal power, my opponents will have a right to reproach me for not complying with its results in case the people express a lack of confidence in me. I am speculating from the point of view of the man on the street. However, I am first of all the president of Ukraine and I want to underline this all over again and make this clear to everybody: If the people say "no" to both the president and the Supreme Council, this would also mean "no" for the government. What will we have then, anarchy? What can be the aftermath of such a situation?

I suggest two variants for resolving this issue. The first variant stipulates early elections for the Supreme Council and a legal referendum on confidence in the president. We must remove the tension. The people elected the president and they have a right to oust him. The other variant stipulates adopting a law on legal power of the results of a referendum and replacing the question on confidence with other questions: "Do you support parliamentary or presidential rule?" and "Do you advocate a market or non-market economy?" If the people speak in favor of a parliamentary republic, we will elect a new Supreme Council and the president will abandon the political arena, not because the people are against Kravchuk but because they are against the Presidency in general. If the people say that they are against a market economy, let them return to socialism. These are variants envisioned by the Constitution. Let us be frank, regardless of our attitude toward the Supreme Council, the latter has adopted a number of historic decisions.

Why hold a referendum, spend billions and have no legitimate results? I think that the legislature will gather and discuss these variants. I have sent them a message requesting this. If someone believes that everything will change immediately after the Supreme Council's dissolution, life will change, production will increase, prices will go down, all the states will turn their eyes to Ukraine and bring us investments and capital.... These are delusions. There exists another danger—in some regions, questions of a local nature may be added to the list of official questions on the referendum. In Donetsk, they may ask a question concerning autonomy; that is a popular issue now. If the Crimea could gain autonomy, why not Donbass or Cisdnieper areas? Through these referendums, we may lose the most important thing—our state's territorial integrity.

Putting this all in a nutshell, everything should be done within the framework of the Constitution and in such a way so as not to hurt the interests of Ukraine and its people.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] What is your attitude toward nuclear arms deployed on our territory? Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev has stated that Ukraine has no personnel capable of proper maintenance of these arms.

[Kravchuk] He did say this. However, if he would have added that some silos in Russia are maintained by Ukrainian specialists because Russia lacks them, the statement would have been more impartial. The warheads of 130 missiles, as well as liquid- fuel-propelled missiles themselves, were manufactured in Russia. Only the manufacturer knows all the designs, subassemblies, and codes. However, solid-fuel-propelled missiles have been manufactured in Ukraine and deployed both in Russia and Ukraine. Our specialists maintain them. Thus, we cannot say that Ukraine has no qualified personnel. We have very knowledgeable people in the Army who maintain the missiles, although regular servicing is done by representatives of the manufacturer.

This is why we advocate an agreement with Russia on mutual maintenance of missiles. However, Russia has a larger potential for this.

I want to use this occasion and emphasize again that we would never want to threaten anybody with our nuclear arms and we are not doing this now.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] How do you assess your current political allies—parties and movements?

[Kravchuk] Political allies change constantly. Those who were allies yesterday, have become my adversaries; my adversaries sometimes become my partners. Sometimes, allies would change their standpoints five times a year. This is why, while speaking at the congress of collective agricultural enterprises I said that I cannot rely upon any political parties or movements. I can only seek support from the people. Until a real political force shapes up, wins authority, and is approved by the people, the president will be unable to rely upon anybody. He will have to maneuver and join different forces depending on the situation. It is very important that I stay in the center. It is not easy, because I am attacked from both the right and the left. What do leftists do whenever I move a little bit more to the right ? They start making noise. When I move to the left, the rightists do the same. I want you to know that I do this on purpose.

These maneuvers help to maintain peace in Ukraine. I have to move along the center line turning a little to the right and to the left all the time. Not much. If I ever moved too far in one of the directions, there could be trouble. Neither right nor left forces need the president. The president is an obstacle to all of them, but for him, they would have attacked one another. So far, they have common interests—ousting the president, removing him from power. Believe my rich political experience, if someone tries to form administration out of these people, they will strangle one another. They only unite to destroy the administration. When they start fighting for power, each of them will uphold his own interests.

[KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI] We believe that in these hard times, the Ukrainian president who wants to protect peace in the state and not turn our lives to ruin, has a lot of supporters among workers, peasants, scientists, businessmen, students, and servicemen. All these people dream of happiness and well-being.

You can always count on KIEVSKIYE NOVOSTI with regard to popularizing your desire to make Ukraine a rich, civilized state.

[Kravchuk] Thank you.

Former Vice Premier Urges Nonnuclear Status

LD3108134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Kiev August 31 TASS—Ukraine must have a non-nuclear status, ex-Ukrainian Vice-Premier Academician Igor Yukhnovsky told republican parliament Tuesday [31 August], when dwelling on an alternative program to overcome the current crisis in Ukraine.

The non-nuclear status will enable guaranteed safety of Ukraine, said Yukhnovsky, speaking on the eve of a Russian-Ukrainian summit in the Crimea. The status is also expected to bring feasible economic benefits, as nuclear warheads could be sold to Russia or the United States in exchange to [as received] money or enriched uranium.

The ex-vice-premier is sure Ukraine should not keep inter-continental missiles on its territory, as it is not able on its own to maintain the missiles or control their launch, which is fraught with a military danger to Ukraine.

Thus, a policy of nuclear disarmament is necessary for the country, said Yukhnovsky, whose opinion is valued in the parliament.

He believes Ukraine must decide how much arms it needs for the national armed forces and sell the excessive weaponry. A reliable source of hard currency incomes for the republican budget could be sales of Ukrainian-made arms, including tanks, precise terminal guidance missiles and explosives.

He also supports the idea of shipping fuel to Ukraine from Turkmenistan via Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Rukh Calls For Elections To Avert 'Catastrophe'

AU0109104593 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 21 Aug 93 p 1

[Undated "Appeal by Ukraine's People's Rukh Movement for Perestroyka"]

[Text] Dear compatriots,

Two years have passed since the glorious day of the proclamation of Ukraine's state independence.

Our hopes for success in the building of our own state have not materialized. Even though, at the time of withdrawing from the Union, Ukraine was in an optimal position, we have not become a developed and democratic country with our citizens feeling free, confident, and protected.

A garden needs a solicitous gardener, a new building needs sound foundations, and a young state needs a new government trusted by the people.

The supreme legislature, elected in the times of colonial dependence, has turned out to be incapable of conducting real legislative work. The initiatives advanced by the democratic minority on the Supreme Council were confronted with hostile resistance on the part of the

reactionary majority that guards the interests of the old party and Soviet nomenklatura.

The situation is further aggravated by the president's poorly judged actions, his disposition to ill-considered compromises, his conservatism over political and economic reforms, and his prolonged self-isolation from any actual leadership of the state's internal life.

L. Kuchma's government never started to implement the promised reforms and continues to use conventional administrative methods. The government's credit of confidence was eventually exhausted after significant changes in its composition, changes that have strengthened the positions of the "red directors' corps," to which the interests of the independent Ukrainian state and its people are completely alien.

The inefficient performance of all branches of state authorities has led to a general impoverishment of the population and to galloping inflation; the wild upsurge in crime and the absolute power of the mafia have created an atmosphere of tension in society; and this constantly threatens to lead to a new wave of destructive social upheavals.

The pro-imperial forces both inside Ukraine and outside it are now taking advantage of the severe crisis experienced by our young state. Resorting to political and economic blackmail and imposing upon us various commonwealths or "unions," they want to put a new imperial yoke upon our people.

Ukraine's People's Rukh calls upon all the Ukrainian people to show vigilance and decisiveness. We have no time for hesitation or faltering. Every day wasted brings Ukraine closer to a catastrophe and to the loss of the most important quality that a contemporary nation may have—its statehood and democracy.

It is only urgent economic reforms, which today's authorities are unable to implement, only a change, as quickly as possible, of the political system—the election of a new parliament and reformed local authorities on the basis of a new law on elections, and only the unity of the presently disunited democratic forces can rescue the Ukrainian state from collapse.

We must not doom ourselves to sacrifice, anonymity, and shame. We must not allow Ukraine to be governed by those who lead it toward an abyss. People who are ready to take responsibility for the fate of the state must come forward....

Let us get together!

Let us unite within [Kievan] Rus!

Long live Ukraine!

Miners Oppose Attempts To Postpone All-Ukrainian Referendum

LD3108211793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1852 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk August 31 TASS—Attempts of the Ukrainian president and the parliament presidium to at least postpone an all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence in Leonid Kravchuk and the parliament have provoked sharp discontent of leaders of the miners' movement.

A joint meeting of the Donetsk City Workers' (Strike) Committee and an independent trade union of Donetsk miners has been held to listen to a report of strike committee members, who attended a parliament session, and discuss the situation.

The meeting decided to offer strike committees of all Donbass mining amalgamations to hold a joint meeting in Makeyevka this week and discuss further actions.

Cabinet Creates Committee To Supervise Medical Industry

AU0109082693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 28 Aug 93 p 6

[Report by the Press Service of Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers and UKRINFORM: "A New State Committee Has Been Created"]

[Text] In order to improve the state system of management of the medical and microbiological industry, Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has decreed the creation of the State Committee for Medical and Microbiological Industry.

This committee will fulfill tasks aimed at improving the provision of the population and the needs of animal husbandry with medicines and medical and veterinary technology; resolving questions of providing the branch with material and technological resources; pursuing a single scientific-technological and investment policy; coordinating the external economic activity in the sphere of medical and microbiological industry, and so on.

The governmental decree specifies a number of measures for the organizational and financial provision of the activity of the committee.

Says Medical Supply Situation 'Critical'

LD3008170793 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Kiev, 30 Aug—The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers looked at the work of the Health Protection Ministry on supplying the population with medicines. A resolution adopted points out that the situation with supplying the Ukrainian population with medicines has become critical, with as little as 35 percent of their requirement

met. The Economics Ministry, Finance Ministry, Health Protection Ministry, and other ministries and departments were instructed to establish strict control over the implementation of tasks to develop the medical and microbiology industry in 1993-96. A number of other measures were adopted to provide the population with medicines.

Cabinet Needs 'Urgent' Steps To Reduce Gas Consumption

LD3008195193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Natural gas deliveries from the Russian Federation to Ukraine have been virtually halted from 30 August due to nonpayment of the debt by its consumers in our state. To date, Ukraine's debt for gas alone has exceeded 730 billion rubles. The press service of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers reports that ministries, departments, and regional bodies of state administration are required to take urgent measures to reduce the use of gas by all consumers, except for the population and communal enterprises, and to make every effort to settle the debt incurred to "DerzhKomNaftoHaz" [Ukrainian State Committee for Oil and Gas].

Crimean Parliament Session Set for 16 Sep

LD0109101693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Simferopol, 31 Aug—The Crimean Supreme Council Presidium has held a sitting. It decided to convene the 14th session of the Crimean Supreme Council on 16 September 1993. Among the issues to be examined by the session are approval of the Crimean Republic's government composition, adoption of the laws on presidential elections, and elections to the Supreme Council of Crimea.

The Presidium discussed holding an all-Crimean referendum on confidence/no confidence in the Supreme Council of Crimea. It also heard a report by Viktor Alfufyev, chairman of the Central Commission for the All-Crimean Referendum. He made public information on numerous violations during the collection of signatures for a vote of no confidence in the Supreme Council. In this connection, the Presidium of the Crimean Supreme Council decided to conduct an additional 10-day inquiry into the results of the signature raising campaign. After the Crimean law on elections to the Supreme Council of Crimea is passed, the session is to set a date for early elections to the Supreme Council.

Kazakhstan

'Mass' Desertions From Armed Forces Cause Concern

LD3108083793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0657 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Ignatov]

[Text] Almaty, 31 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—Desertion from Kazakhstan's Armed Forces has assumed mass proportions. At a meeting of the Defense Ministry Collegium today, Kazakhstan's Defense Minister Sagadat Nurmagambetov was forced to appeal to the heads of local administrations and to bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and National Security Committee to work together to prevent evasion of military service and to search out those absent without leave from military units.

According to Defense Ministry figures, more than 3,000 men and noncommissioned officers are on the run. In addition, 529 deserters from the Russian Federation units stationed on the territory of Kazakhstan have not yet been returned to the the place where they were serving.

The defense minister believes that it is not only poor food and equipment that is to blame for desertion remaining so high. There needs to be an immediate improvement in the style of work and methods used by commanders in the forces.

Nazarbayev Comments on Prospects for Ruble Zone

LD3008180793 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Excerpts] As has already been reported, on 25 and 26 August President Nursultan Nazarbayev was in Aktyubinsk Oblast. He had numerous meetings there with staff from industry and agriculture and residents of towns and the country. The problems raised at the meetings are of considerable interest to all Kazakhstanis.

Here is one question to the president from workers of the "Aktyubinskselmash" [Aktyubinsk agricultural machinery] production association: "Tell us how we will be living in the future, Nursultan Abishevich. While it has been very hard to visit Ukraine, it is now even harder to go to Russia because of the different types of currency denominations there and in Kazakhstan."

"You know from press reports," replied the head of our Republic, "that Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan would like to stay in the ruble zone. With all my heart I want the accords with the leadership of the Russian Federation to be carried out. But it is not yet clear whether we will continue to use the Russian ruble in the future, since the conditions for granting us credits are still being thought over, and it is not known whether they will be acceptable to us. But in the meantime a number of inconveniences has arisen in the life of Kazakhstanis, and not only in the border regions. It is not easy now even to go on a duty trip to Russia; we do not have the necessary currency, and this is especially affecting those who for some reason have to make visits to our neighboring country. [passage omitted]

"So we must be prepared for anything, including withdrawal from the ruble zone. If it does not prove possible to reach a mutually acceptable compromise, then we will have no alternative but to introduce our own currency. We will try to do everything to ensure that the population does not suffer from a change in money in any way. Our banks, if such a need really does arise, are fully capable of carrying out the action in question quickly and accurately." [passage omitted]

Interviewed on Years as Leader

LD3008215293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1850 GMT on 30 August presents the recorded, 40-minute "Visiting Those in Power" program, with Kira Vladina interviewing President Nursultan Nazarbayev at an unspecified location.

Commenting on his years in power, Nazarbayev reminisces about his relations with USSR leader Brezhnev, whom he hardly knew, and Gorbachev and Yeltsin. He recalls the sycophantic applause given to Brezhnev during his visit to Kazakhstan and the high-handed manner with which he treated then Polish leader Edward Gierek. Stanislaw Kania is a good lad, Brezhnev said, and, sure enough, Kania duly replaced Gierek forthwith. Gorbachev, recalls Nazarbayev, presented an agreeable face to the media and the population but he was very much the first secretary in the old mold in his off-camera dealings.

As far as relations among states are concerned, a lot depends on good personal contacts among the leaders, says Nazarbayev, recalling that he did not mind Yeltsin's suggestion that both men ought to state publicly that they are friends. He adds: "I consciously pursue a policy of rapprochement in all areas with Russia."

Emphasizing the importance of living peacefully with one's neighbors, Nazarbayev gives the example of how neither Kazakhstan nor Russia are demanding any payment from Turkmenistan for the transit of Turkmen gas through their territories, because countries with more heavy industry, like Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan, are suffering greater economic hardships at present.

Speaking in general terms about the conflicts in the former USSR, Nazarbayev observes that "this freedom, unrestrained by anything—neither by laws nor by the existing order—a freedom to encroach upon the freedom of others, leads to processes that are out of control and to perfectly senseless casualties."

He adds that perhaps a peak is about to be reached now, but "God forbid that further confrontations of any kind

should be allowed to occur. If politicians act sensibly, preventing confrontation, and act in a preemptively to resolve the problems that arise in a spirit of goodwill, friendship, and trust, they can be prevented".

Asked about personal conflicts, Nazarbayev recalls his conflict with former Kazakhstan leader Dinmukhamed Kunayev, whom he criticized publicly. Before Kunayev was removed from power, Nazarbayev felt ostracized and beyond the pale. He also recalls having to persuade striking miners to return to work.

Vladina then asks: "You closed the Semipalatinsk testing range and disposed of a problem. But the question is now heard more and more often: Why is it that Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Ukraine need nuclear weapons? For prestige? As a deterrent? Against a threat? Who from? The East, the West, the CIS countries? And for how long?"

Nazarbayev replies: "I think that this problem does not now exist for Kazakhstan. Here we have four states signing [as heard] the problem of nuclear weapons and indeed it was not the case that Kazakhstan signed as a nuclear-free country. It remained temporarily a nuclear state. The United States recognized Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and Belarus as sides to the treaty and we again signed this treaty, you know? Then, at my behest, we formed the collective security council, where it is enshrined that aggression against one member of this collective security council is aggression against all members; that is to say, we defend each other by acting together in case of aggression. A new situation came about and during my visit to Washington in 1992 we pledged in the United States, together with Bush, as a side to the treaty, that we undertake fully to comply with START I. Incidentally, Kazakhstan is the first state to have ratified this treaty, before the United States, Russia, and so on. So we are trying to be as good as our word."

Nazarbayev recalls his presidential campaign and says politicians ought to keep their own emotions to themselves. Politics is a very serious affair, he says. The program goes on to show Nazarbayev's wife, busy with children's charities, and his family all singing together. Returning to the scene of the interview, Nazarbayev emphasizes the importance of young people studying abroad. Wherever he goes, he tries to make sure that young people from Kazakhstan are taken on as students. Up to 1,000 young people studied in the United States over the past two to three years, others studied in the South Korea, and about 1,000 are studying in Turkey and Europe now. He recalls his own educational fund for these purposes. He would like his own children to study in the West and would not mind himself, given an opportunity, to live and study there, though it is unlikely to happen.

Asked about the fashion of changing place names, Nazarbayev says traditions are important and have to be handled cautiously. After all, Kazakhstan's economy was not created overnight. It was developed during the Soviet period and you can not alter history, for it will be written by future generations, concludes Nazarbayev.

Speaking of his personal happiness, Nazarbayev again mentions his family. As a politician, he feels happy when he is trusted, he concludes.

Kyrgyzstan

Country Marks Second Anniversary of Independence

Prime Minister Gives Address

LD2908191393 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 2300 GMT 28 Aug 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] On 31 August, the people of Kyrgyzstan will celebrate the second anniversary of independence and sovereignty. The last two years have been a hard time in the life of our republic. It would not be an exaggeration to say that they were probably the most difficult years in the history of the Kyrgyz people. We have implemented both political and economic reforms during this time and today we can talk about some positive results, but there are still a lot of unresolved issues.

I believe that the Kyrgyz nation, having decided in favor of a sovereign and democratic country, has made the right choice. There is no turning back from this path. Hardships and obstacles await us on this path but [words indistinct] people of Kyrgyzstan are optimistic and, I believe, the Kyrgyz people will overcome all difficulties and succeed in building a free, market oriented, and civilized country. I think that what I have said can be applied to the reforms that are being implemented in other CIS countries. Any other leader of the CIS could have repeated my words—that we would only succeed in overcoming the difficulties if we integrate our activities, and go from words to deeds on issues of creating a real economic union, and if we turn words into deeds in restoring disrupted economic relations [word indistinct] on a market basis.

During these festive days I want to emphasize that the Kyrgyz nation advocates the idea of intensifying cooperation among CIS countries, strengthening the Commonwealth, and political and economic integration of the CIS.

Akayev Discusses Successes, Problems

LD3108230693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1420 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Interview with President Askar Akayev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given; from the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Askar Akayevich, the republic is celebrating the second anniversary of its independence. How difficult and how thorny has been the path you have chosen and the time now passed?

[Akayev] We have indeed lived two years in independence and sovereignty. These two years have been very difficult, and I think the third year will be no less difficult for us.

However, a great deal has been done in these years. First of all, we have established the prestige of our state, an independent, sovereign state, in the world community. We have established the prestige of our state in the Commonwealth of Independent States. I think Kyrgyzstan is today recognized by the entire world community as an independent, sovereign state advancing along the path of truly democratic transformations and market reforms.

Our reforms are receiving considerable support. I think this is a significant achievement. Of course, it is very painful to talk about the economic sphere and issues relating to the transition to a market economy. A slump in production continues; inflation continues to rise, although since we introduced our national currency we have managed to reduce it somewhat. Today we can pursue an independent monetary and credit policy, and already there are first signs indicating that the state, and primarily the National Bank of our republic, has the mass of money in circulation in control.

I am optimistic about the future because today we have reached the point when our program of economic development has gained financial support and is gaining technical and technological support both from the CIS countries, which are our principal partners, and from the world community. Therefore I am convinced that in a year's time we will be celebrating the third anniversary of our independence with far better results in the economic sphere.

[Correspondent] And what about your foreign policy priorities? What place does Russia occupy as far as these are concerned?

[Akayev] We have now established good, very good relations with countries such as the United States of America, Japan, with our great neighbor the People's Republic of China, with Turkey, one of the leaders in the Turkic world, with European countries such as Switzerland and Holland, and with many other countries throughout the world.

But, when all is said and done, I would say that the main priority in our foreign policy is, of course, Russia. I think this will remain the case, at any rate during this millennium, over the next few decades. This is because very firm and deep, deep-rooted ties of traditional friendship and cooperation in all areas tie us with Russia.

We need priority relations with Russia in three areas: first and foremost, this concerns the protection of our independence, our state sovereignty. Second, the inexhaustible source of the great Russian culture is of great importance for us. This is because it is precisely through the Russian language and Russian culture that the Kyrgyz people, all of them, have assimilated Russian culture itself and then, through this culture, the achievements of world civilization and culture.

Third, we have economic cooperation—Russia is our main trade and economic partner. Suffice it to say that we import about 60 percent of goods, raw materials, and fuels from Russia. In a word, 60 percent of our imports come from Russia where our foreign trade balance is concerned. Russia also gives us large-scale economic, technical, and technological assistance.

That is why, taking account of these three main factors which, generally speaking, represent the main fulcrums underpinning the foreign policy of any state, we attach top priority in our foreign policy to Russia, and we are doing everything to strengthen our traditional ties of friendship and cooperation with Russia.

[Correspondent] So far you have had good personal relations with the Commonwealth heads of state. Can one believe today that this friendship and personal contacts have been preserved and are being used to mutual benefit?

[Akayev] Yes, certainly, and what particularly makes me happy is that we have established mutual trust and mutual understanding and even friendly feelings on a personal level which have developed into friendly ties with the presidents of many CIS countries.

First of all, I would like to mention the presidents of the neighboring states, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Islam Karimov, and Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I would like to remind you that it was to Kyrgyzstan that Boris Nikolayevich paid his first visit as the first president of the Russian Federation elected by popular vote. It is our duty to strengthen this friendship on the heads of state level—which accords with the interests and hopes of our peoples—to bring our states closer together, strengthen mutual understanding on the state level, as well as mutually advantageous cooperation, rather then sever our ties and alienate our peoples from one another. I think our close personal relations and the mutual trust which exists between us contribute to this a lot, and our recent meetings, conversations, and talks bear proof to this.

[Correspondent] What sort of life do the ethnic diaspora have today? Are they still experiencing the same sympathy and interest in their fate and development?

[Akayev] Everyone is having a hard time in Kyrgyzstan now: the Kyrgyz people, the Russians, the Uzbeks, the Uygurs, the Dungans, the Nenets, the Koreans, and the representatives of all nationalities, of which there are over 70. This is because Kyrgyzstan has a difficult economic situation today, an economic crisis. I must say

that in the last few years we have done a lot to preserve the interests of ethnic minorities in their language and culture.

You know, our basic law, our Constitution, at present enshrines very exact juridical norms guaranteeing the freedom of development and existence of languages, national minorities, cultural requirements. At the same time, the Constitution guarantees the national interests of all ethnic minorities. This year we opened the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University, the first one of its kind in the CIS, in order to retain the presence of the Russian language in Kyrgyzstan.

I would like to put forward the following initiative: Let the Russian diaspora in all countries take notice of this and support this endeavor of ours; let it make its own contribution toward the strengthening of this university's material and technical resources. We were the first CIS member-state to give ethnic and cultural autonomy to Germans in areas they inhabit as communities.

I think we pay no less attention and understanding to national minorities than was the case before. The current difficulties are grounded in the republic's economic situation. I said that even as part of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan had a standard of living 50 percent below the average. Comparisons with the standard of living in the Baltic republics were altogether out of place, because the standard of living was five or six times higher there. Our standard of living has declined even more now. I think it is this that engenders the concern and alarm of national minorities. They look for, and emigrate to, places which enjoy a higher standard of living than Kyrgyzstan.

[Correspondent] Can the situation be forecast, in view of the deepening crisis?

[Akayev] Exactly a year ago we embarked on a program of economic development for Kyrgyzstan by making a move toward a market economy. We elaborated this program jointly with experts from international financial organizations, the world community. And it is only now—or, to be more correct, over the past few months—that the program was given a financial stimulus; the financing of th[illegible]rogram began.

When the world community became convinced that we were going down the road of real market change, they decided to start allocating loans to finance our program. And it is this which will help our economy recover. I predict that in about a year, over a year, over the next year, we will begin to rebuild our economy, we will be able to halt the decline in industry and begin expansion. Expanding the economy means raising the standard of living of the population, and of course the standard of living of the people will only begin to improve when exports are greater than imports. That is what we are striving for. All the structural changes in the economy should be directed toward achieving this goal.

[Correspondent] Recently many people have gotten the impression that you are more alone than surrounded by like-minded people in your actions and intentions. On whom does the president of the Kyrgyz republic rely these days, and on whom would he like to rely? Where can he find support?

[Akayev] Primarily, of course, I rely on the people who elected me president. I am not a representative of any party. I was not made president by any socio-political party or movement. I was elected by the people, and so I will rely on the people and bring to life the political and economic program which I offered to the republic as long as the people support me.

I would like to wish the people continuing peace and stability, and most important of all, interethnic concord and civil peace, because these are inalienable conditions for overcoming the economic crisis we have at the moment. That is the most important task.

Economic, Social Problems Examined

LD3108104193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Report from Kyrgyzstan by correspondent Vladimir Fedorov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Two republics of the CIS—Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan—mark their national independence days today. There will be celebrations—public merrymaking, concerts, and firecrackers—in both Bishkek and Tashkent. So far we have received a report only from Kyrgyzstan. However, unfortunately its content is concerned not so much with celebrations as with problems.

[Fedorov] Not having the funds to ensure the promised increase in pay, pensions, and grants, the government—acting through the Committee for Management of the National Currency, which has special powers—has announced an emergency republican budget for the second half of the year. An additional 5 percent tax has aroused sharp protest from commodity producers and the already bleeding industry is dying before our very eyes. Crowds of unemployed people are forming, while the emergency budget envisions cuts in the payment of benefits.

[President] Askar Akayev thinks that the government should be given another year for reforms. Great hopes are placed on September, when another dose of injections from the IMF and the World Bank is to be administered. Labor—which even before had not been a cult among the population—has now capitulated before speculation, pilfering, bribery, and even begging. Skilled workers, who have lost any prospects, are leaving the republic en masse. Perhaps the democratic leadership of Kyrgyzstan can be credited with two things: freedom of speech, and the fact that despite all the social and interethnic tension and the growing interclan confrontation matters have not led to bloodshed. But it would be frivolous to be deluded by this calm. In the first place there is a real danger of a social explosion and in the second place there is a storm cloud growing on the

border with Gornyy Badakhshan. At any rate, today's celebrations are being held—singing and dancing and even a military parade. The money has been found for these.

Officer Corps Diminishing as Russians Stay Away

PM0109101393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 93 p 1

[Boris Maynayev, ITAR-TASS report under the "From Our Information Bureau" roundup: "Kyrgyz Army Loses Officer Personnel"]

[Text] Bishkek—In a republic with a small army of only 210,000 men the loss of valuable specialists is felt all the more keenly.

In the space of seven months dozens of commanders have left. And young officers graduating from Russian military schools are refraining from going to Kyrgyzstan, seeing no prospects for advancement.

Tajikistan

Rakhmanov 'Very Satisfied' With Talks in Afghanistan

LD3008144593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1407 GMT 30 Aug 93

[By KHOVAR information agency correspondent Zainiddin Nasreddinov]

[Text] Dushanbe, 30 Aug TASS—Tajik leader Imamali Rakhmanov said he was "very satisfied" with the results of his talks with Afghan President Borhanoddin Rabbani. "We have achieved positive results on all the discussed matters", the Tajik parliamentary leader and acting head of state told journalists upon his arrival from Kabul on Monday.

President Rabbani accepted an invitation to come to Tajikistan on an official visit, he said.

A joint communique signed in Kabul stipulates the creation of a tri-lateral (with participation of U.N. bodies) commission in charge of the problem of Tajik refugees.

The sides will strictly observe the principle of non-use of force in the relations with each other and settle all the problems by means of negotiations, the document goes on stressing that the sides will act in full conformity with the U.N. charter conserning human rights.

Phone Conversation With Yeltsin

LD3108173593 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Imamali Rakhmonov, head of state and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, had a telephone conversation today with Russian Federation President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin expressed interest in the results of Imamali Rakhmonov's visit to the Islamic State of Afghanistan. It was pointed out that the two states have to take specific measures in order to stabilize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border—which is in fact the CIS border—as soon as possible, to ensure peace and tranquillity in Tajikistan and to rescue it from the deep economic crisis.

Issues pertaining to the regular meeting of the CIS heads of state, scheduled to be held in Moscow on 7 September, were also discussed in the course of the conversation.

Clashes Continue on Afghan Border

LD3108153593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1053 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe August 31 TASS—The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border remains complex. However, there was stabilisation in separate directions of the past week, Anatoliy Chechulin, commander-in-chief of the group of Russian border troops in Tajikistan, said in an exclusive interview to ITAR-TASS. He said stabilisation was promoted both by efforts of the Tajik leadership and by a number of constructive meetings of Russian border guards with some Afghan military, controlling Afghanistan's northern provinces.

Such a meeting was held the other day with deputy commanders of the 55th Afghan Infantry Division of Kozi Kobir. A protocol has even been signed on certain interaction to control separate zones of responsibility on the Moscow direction of the border, Chechulin said. Regrettably, the same cannot be said of the entire stretch of the border. The commander-in-chief noted that there were eight clashes of Russian frontier guards with violators of the border over the past week in the Pyandzh direction. In four cases frontier posts came under fire from the territory of Afghanistan. In two cases frontier guards came under fire from the rear. The enemy sustained casualties, but Russian frontier guards had losses too. On the night from Sunday to Monday, during a clash with a group of commandos who tried to penetrate the frontier in the area of the 12th post of the Pyandzh unit, one Russian serviceman was killed, some were wounded.

The commander-in-chief said armed opposition on the other side of the Tajik border has not given up attempts at frontier crossings by groups of 15-20 men.

As to the planned large-scale penetration of the frontier, additional measures were envisaged to reinforce all sections of the border with equipment and personnel. Due to this, as well as due to the latest constructive measures taken by the Tajikistan leaders, there is no immediate danger on the frontier, Chechulin said.

Regarding specific measures to strengthen the frontier, Chechulin expressed the hope that under a collective arrangement of CIS states concerned, borderguards units of these countries will be brought to a more powerful and large composition. Heads of state of CIS countries declared recently that the Tajik-Afghan border must become a zone of common responsibility, Chechulin said.

Freed Officer Thanks Leadership for Efforts

LD3008175693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1705 GMT 30 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe August 30 TASS—Major Sergey Petukhov, one of the five border guards released from captivity in Afghanistan, thanked the Tajik leadership for direct participation in their liberation. Addressing a press-conference here on Monday [30 August], the officer stressed that already on the third day of their stay in Afghanistan the border guards were "taken under the protection of the central Government of Afghanistan" and were "very well and properly treated".

The five include major Sergey Petukhov from the Kazakh peace-keeping force in Tajikistan, Privates Sergey Prokhorov, Yevgeniy Dudnikov, Aleksandr Babushak and Andrey Vorotintsev from the Russian frontier troops in the Central Asian Republic.

They arrived in Dushanbe together with republican parliament Speaker Imamali Rakhmanov who held three-day talks in Kabul. Rakhmanov said the release of the five was the major result of his visit. The border guards were seized on August 10 by a group of Afghan mojahedin.

Turkmenistan

Niyazov Proposes Summit of Ex-USSR Republics 26-28 Oct

PM2708115793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Aug 93 First Edition p 7

[Report by Georgiy Smolnikov: "Saparmurad Niyazov Wants Everyone To Be Friends"]

[Text] Ashgabat—The president of Turkmenistan, who is often accused by political scientists in the media of pursuing an isolationist line among his colleagues in the CIS, appears to have decided to rebut these charges by coming up with an initiative that is rather surprising in view of his past reliance on bilateral relations. Saparmurad Niyazov has proposed holding in Ashgabat on 26-28 October a meeting of the leaders of all 15 young independent countries that were formed after the breakup of the former USSR.

"Let us stop tearing up what was once a single economic space," the president of Turkmenistan said. "The time has come for consolidation on a new basis of equality and political independence. We will all lose if we disperse to our own ethnic areas. The Ashgabat meeting, which will be a consultative one, would be able to lay the foundation for an economic community, which would include CIS and Baltic states, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova."

Asked by your correspondent whether the leaders of the other countries knew of his idea, Niyazov said that he had had conversations with some of them and had met with complete understanding.

The choice of date for the meeting is no accident: On 26-27 October Turkmenistan will be celebrating the second anniversary of the proclamation of independence, and invitations to attend the celebrations have been sent to top officials in many countries. In view of this, Turkmen construction workers, together with their foreign partners, are currently pushing ahead with the construction of a complex of 11 first-class hotels in the distinctive Oriental architectural style, which are growing before our very eyes on the outskirts of Ashgabat. Five hotels are already in operation, although not fully, since only the wealthiest visitors from the West and the East can afford to stay there.

And while there are many question marks against a large gathering, one can say with greater certainty that on 26 October the new hotels will be the temporary residences of the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Iran. They have agreed to discuss with the Turkmenistan leadership that day the problems of the Caspian Sea, which is common to these countries. The proposed topics of discussion are how to use the riches of ancient Khazar wisely, in the interests of each of the peoples populating its shores, and what needs to be done to effectively combat the increasing ecological disaster that is occurring in the sea.

Armenia Settles Debt With Industrial, Consumer Goods

PM2708122393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Gold and Jewelry in Exchange for Gas"]

[Text] Ashgabat—"We are grateful to Armenia for regularly settling up for our natural gas," President S. Niyazov of Turkmenistan told journalists after signing the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two states. "Before coming to Ashgabat, the president of the Republic of Armenia sent an aircraft here with gold and jewelry...."

Of course, Armenia settles up for deliveries of natural gas, ground sulfur, cotton fiber, cottonseed oil, and other commodities not only with gold, silver, and jewelry. Hundreds of different products of machine building, the chemical industry, light industry, and the electrical engineering industry go to Turkmenistan from Armenia, as

do motor vehicles, washing machines, medical equipment, footwear, and other commodities, of which there are acute shortages in Turkmenistan today. As early as 23 August, I was told by the management of the "Armkontrakt" Enterprise, Armenia had supplied Turkmenistan with technical industrial products and consumer goods worth $3 million along clearing lines.

"For three years now," L. Ter-Petrosyan, president of the Republic of Armenia, said at a news conference, "Armenia and Turkmenistan have been endeavoring to preserve all the ties which had very closely linked them within the USSR. It is in our interests to preserve everything that there was by developing cooperation."

Uzbekistan

Abdulatipov Leads Russian Delegation to Celebrations

LD3108172993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1445 GMT 31 Aug 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A Russian delegation led by Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet, and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Fedorovich Yarov has arrived in Uzbekistan at the invitation of President Karimov. The delegation will take part in celebrating the second anniversary of the proclamation of the republic's state independence. An exchange of views on a wide range of issues relating to the development of economic cooperation between the two independent states under the new conditions is also envisaged.

Karimov Decrees Creation of Press Support Fund

LD2608214093 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1101 GMT 26 Aug 93

[Text] [no dateline as received] Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan, has issued a decree setting up a fund in support of the republic's press. The basic tasks of the fund are defined as tackling financial, material, and technical questions connected with the publication and distribution of newspapers and magazines. The fund will represent the interests of newspapers and magazines and their founders in state and public organizations, take part in distributing state subsidies to support the press, and form their own means through production, commercial, and foreign economic activity and sponsorship. The fund is being allocated 1 billion rubles from the Cabinet of Ministers' reserve.

Agriculture Moving Gradually Toward Market Relations

PM3108094193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Report from Uzbekistan by Mukhtar Ganiyev and Sadyr Ziyamukhamedov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Ganiyev] The objectives of the new economic reform in the Uzbek countryside are to feed the republic's people, reduce food imports, conquer the world market with their own production, and, most important of all, instill in peasants the spirit of enterprise. The first stage of the reform—destatization and privatization of agricultural production—is already under way. There are now more than 2.5 million subsidiary peasant farms in the republic. The yields from these plots are three times higher than, for example, from sovkhoz plantations. Reality is forcing loss-making enterprises to close down. This year alone more than 500 sovkhozes and livestock units have been reorganized. Cooperative, leasehold, and joint-stock farms and privately-run livestock units on the lines of this one are being set up in their place.

However, it must be noted at the same time that in densely populated areas the peasants are not abolishing kolkhozes. Without destroying this form of ownership, the reform is enabling kolkhoz members to dispose of part of the harvest as they see fit. This year, for example, the kolkhozes can keep all above-plan output and 20 percent of planned output. The number of state orders specifying what has to be grown is being reduced to a minimum.

In short, without breaking up overnight what has been built up over many years, Uzbekistan's agriculture is gradually, step by step, moving toward new market relations.

Armenia

Reportage on Fighting in Nagorno-Karabakh, Border Areas

Yerevan Radio Updates Situation

NC3108160193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1330 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

The reports from Nagorno-Karabakh's front lines confirm that Azerbaijan's leaders intend to solve the confrontation in the region only through the use of armed force. It is common knowledge that several political establishments, organizations, and military units are not under the control of the general command headquarters in the neighboring republic. Azerbaijan is trying to avoid holding talks to end the exchange of fire. In fact, it is trying to use the talks to deploy new reinforcements and armored vehicles in the battlefronts in order to be able to launch wide-scale attacks.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan has not abandoned its effort to involve Armenia in wide-scale military operations. On the contrary, it has increased the number of its attacks on border areas in Armenia.

Azerbaijan has frequently used its Air Force units in the clashes. That is confirmed by the violent bombing of Kapanskiy and Gorisskiy Rayons during the past few days.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh was tense yesterday, as it has been during the past few days. Azerbaijan's military units fired on the NKR's defensive positions with various types of arms and tried to penetrate the defense lines. NKR's defense units retaliated against all provocations.

Undoubtedly, the tension in the confrontation zone in the southwestern areas has (?eased) significantly. According to the NKR Defense Headquarters, Azerbaijan's military units attacked the NKR positions against Kubatlinskiy Rayon yesterday afternoon. Their attack was supported by military helicopters and heavy artillery units. However, it failed to achieve its objective. The Azerbaijan National Army units were forced to retreat in that area. Several enemy fire emplacements were silenced and two tanks and an infantry vehicle were destroyed. Azerbaijan also lost several of its troops. A fighter was killed and another was wounded on the Armenian side. [passage omitted]

Exchanges of fire and clashes also took place in the other parts of the NKR's front lines. However, the confrontation was mainly in the form of positional fighting.

Meanwhile, the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan is tense. Azerbaijan's helicopters penetrated Gorisskiy Rayon's airspace and bombed the defense positions around Khndzoresk and Kornidzor yesterday morning. The two towns were also bombed. The enemy side has stepped up its military activities in areas close to Armenia's northern border.

Azerbaijan's military units set fire to the fruit plantations in [placename indistinct] in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon last night. Later, they fired on the positions that are manned by the border guards. The retaliatory operations carried out by the Armenian fighters forced the bandits to flee. Several of the provocateurs were either killed or wounded. No one was hurt on the Armenian side.

Meanwhile, we have received a report that Azerbaijan is massing reinforcements and military equipment close to Krasnoselskiy Rayon's border. It has been observed that the enemy is massing its forces against [placenames indistinct].

There were no other serious incidents along Armenia's border with Azerbaijan last night and this morning.

Obviously, Azerbaijan's leaders wish to solve the political and economic crisis in that republic. However, it will be very difficult for them to do so because of the continuing war against the NKR and the attacks and raids on Armenia's residential areas.

Karabakh Sources, Defense Ministry Cited

LD3108153693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1510 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ARMENPRESS-TASS]

[Text] Yerevan August 31 TASS—"The Azeri units have launched another attack in direction of the Lachin humanitarian corridor and the south-western border of the Karabakh Gadrut region over the past 24 hours with support of armored materiel and helicopters," sources at the Karabakh defence army headquarters told ARMENPRESS.

According to the source, "it became clear from telephone conversations with the Azeri side that the units are not controlled by the central military command.

"Karabakh units had to launch a counter-offensive, forced the enemy out from some strategic positions and suppressed with fire the most active rocket and artillery emplacements in the Kubatly region. Both sides have had casualties."

"The border zone of the republican Taush region was put under artillery fire on the eve of August 31," says a report of the Armenian Defence Ministry.

"Crops on the outskirts of the Koti settlement of the Noyembryan region were set on fire on August 30 by the Azeris, who fired at village dwellers trying to extinguish the fire. The situation stabilized as result [of] response measures.

"Corpses of four Armenians kidnapped on Sunday from the region are in the Nakhichevan Republic, negotiations on their return are underway," it notes.

Karabakh, Azerbaijan Sign Cease-Fire

NC3108174393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] An agreement was signed today between the Azerbaijani and Nagorno-Karabakh leadership on a temporary cease-fire that will last until 10 September.

Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Foreign Minister Arkadiy Gukasyan and the commander of the NKR Self-Defense Forces, Samuel Babayan, signed it on behalf of Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijani Deputy President [deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet] Dzhalilov and acting Defense Minister Abiyev signed it for Azerbaijan.

The office of NKR permanent representation in Yerevan reported that the leaders of the two republics will meet during the cease-fire.

Karabakh Denies Reports on Towns' Capture

NC0109093393 Yerevan SNARK in English 0909 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Stepanakert, September 1 (SNARK)—The parties to the Azerbaijani-Karabakh conflict are observing the terms of temporary armistice started August 31 at 4.00 p.m. local time, according to today reports from the front line.

At the same time, the Karabakh side is undertaking everything possible to suppress any violations of the cease-fire agreement by some troops. Karabakh Army positions at the Madagiz settlement in the Mardakert region northern Karabakh were shelled in the second half the August 31 in the result of that two Karabakh soldiers were killed, according to Karabakh department of press and information.

Karabakh department of press and information denies the Baku mass media spread information that Karabakh forces captured the district centers Dzhebrail and Kubatly. According to the department of information, in a result of contractions of Karabakh forces they took control over strategic heights near by the district centers and after that Azerbaijani troops were withdrawn from Dzhebrail and Kubatly. [sentence as received]

Karabakh forces are ordered not to come in these towns.

Azerbaijani Attacks Reported

NC0109104293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0957 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Yerevan, September 1 (SNARK)—The Azerbaijani Army had been attacking the southern borders of Armenia during the whole last night.

The Armenian Defense Department told SNARK a great number of military machines, artillery, three MI 24 helicopters participated in an unprecedented attack. One of the helicopters was fired and fell on the territory of the Gorisskiy region, Armenia.

Meanwhile, the Azerbaijani forces fired and shelled the Goris town, there are victims.

By the morning the Azerbaijani forces had to retreat to the initial positions in the Kubatly region but the shelling is going on.

Papazyan Message to Iran Urges Cooperation

NC3108140493 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 0825 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Yerevan, 30 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan has sent a message to Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati assuring him that Armenia, which is concerned with the economic crisis arising from the almost complete blockade, wants a quick solution to the enduring conflict between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, and unequivocally considers political dialogue the only way to resolve it.

In sharing the concern of the Iranian authorities over the possibility of an influx of Azerbaijani refugees to Iran's northern border regions, the Armenian foreign minister asked his Iranian counterpart to provide the Armenian authorities with Iran's official data on refugees.

The message reiterates the readiness of the Armenian authorities to hold diplomatic consultations with Iran and to cooperate to settle the conflict.

Yerevan, Stepanakert Seek Good Relations With Iran

PM2708142793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 93 p 1

[Vardan Aloyan report: "Whose Trump Is the 'Karabakh Card'?"]

[Text] Yerevan—Today Armenian newspapers have carried a report from the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Information and Press Department that units of the Nagorno-Karabakh Defense Army have been ordered to withdraw to their initial positions on the southern section of the line of confrontation.

What can be read between the lines of this statement? In my view, just one thing: Just like Yerevan, Stepanakert does not want to spoil relations with Iran. Azerbaijanis and Armenians are fighting on the Karabakh front, but the interests of many states of the world have also clashed here.

Local observers, for example, are convinced (although this is not stated anywhere officially) that the Americans take a pro-Azerbaijani and pro-Turkish stand in the Karabakh conflict not so much because they need Baku's

oil or because Turkey is their NATO ally, but because they intend next to overthrow the Tehran regime, which is not to their liking, with the help of the "Azerbaijan card" (in other words the problem of Iranian North Azerbaijan).

But the Armenian side, despite the Iranians' menacing statements, continues to perceive the Persians as its natural allies in the region, and so it does not wish to be mixed up in any anti-Iranian actions.

This is the situation, although, in my view, an end to the war in Karabakh can already be seen. Here it is not a case of efforts by the Minsk CSCE group and the United Nations. Everything is more prosaic and simple. Whereas Armenia has long had a pro-Russian orientation, Baku is only just starting to turn toward the north with Aliyev's accession to power.

Citing well-informed sources, however, a recent issue of the newspaper AZG reports that Geydar Aliyev intends to go to Moscow 4 September for a meeting with Boris Yeltsin. It also states, this time citing Turkey's HURRIYET, that Aliyev has asked for Azerbaijan to be admitted to the CIS and that this problem will be resolved during the meeting of the two presidents.

If this is so, and the "prodigal son" does return, we will soon have to await the cessation of active combat operations and the holding of real peace talks on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Currency Situation, Monetary Union With Russia Viewed

MK3108111193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Armen Khanbabyan report: "Moscow Will Provide Armenia With Rubles, but Interim Ones So Far. The Republic Runs the Risk of Turning From a Soviet Colony Into a New, Russian One"]

[Text] Following the recent monetary reform in Russia the financial situation in Armenia has incurred serious complications. The republic proved to be unprepared for such a turn of events. Armenia's top officials hastened to accuse Moscow of violating the existing agreements, both bilateral ones and those within the CIS framework, and also of pursuing an uncoordinated economic policy. Even if this is true, the Armenian Government itself is not totally blameless: A year and a half ago then-Premier Gagik Arutyunyan warned about the possibility of the disintegration of the ruble zone and started preparations for the introduction of an independent currency—the dram, whose prototypes had already been printed in Germany. At the same time Arutyunyan, just like his prime ministerial successors, understood very well that in conditions of war and blockade the fate of the national currency would be unenviable, and the main efforts were concentrated on prolonging Armenia's stay in the ruble zone. Apparently, the captains of the Armenian economy hoped that Moscow for purely political considerations would be supplying the former union republics with free rubles for a long time to come, and therefore the introduction of the dram was postponed indefinitely.

Recent developments have shown that such calculations were an illusion. The decision by the Russian Central Bank forced Yerevan to take emergency steps to protect the already weakened Armenian commodity market. Having proclaimed the old Soviet currency as legal tender on the republic's territory, Armenia at the same time imposed tough limitations on the importation of bank notes bearing a picture of Lenin and tightened customs control over the export of goods. These measures, however, were not effective enough—the expansion of old rubles from other states and especially from neighboring Georgia proved to be impossible to restrain; this immediately affected prices, which over a short period almost doubled. The fragile social balance was jeopardized while the prospect of a sharp rise in popular discontent become more than real.

All this has forced the republic's authorities to speed up preparations for entering a monetary union with Russia. The Armenian delegation led by Vice Premier Vigen Chitechyan spent more than three weeks in Moscow conducting difficult talks on conditions for the republic's transfer to new bank notes. According to Chitechyan, the negotiations proved overall to be successful, but the vice premier might be overoptimistic. It transpired that Armenia will not get any more monetary supplies on preferential terms. At the same time the preliminary conditions for concluding a monetary union are far from easy. Thus, Armenia is to coordinate with Russia the principles of state regulation of the economy, which means the adoption of laws ensuring the unity of tax, credit, and customs policy. In addition, Russia will be enabled to oversee the implementation by the Armenian side of the obligations it has assumed.

According to Vigen Chitechyan, the republic's leadership has to agree to such conditions but the question is how to interpret the words "the unity of tax, credit, and customs policy." It is not ruled out that apart from other things, Moscow will wish to have the power to appoint the heads of corresponding economic and power departments, for example, the finance and economics ministries, and the customs department. According to the vice premier, Yerevan will not agree to this. "The question can only be about the general rules of the game," Chitechyan stressed.

Even this, however, is not accepted by everyone in Armenia. Apparently, the creation of a common customs service, the use of single tax rates, single administration of the sides' national banks, the consolidation of state gold and hard currency reserves, and many other provisions of a future treaty put Armenia in the position of a Russian colony. At the same time, this dependence will probably be even greater than in Soviet times. Moves by the Armenian leadership in the area of monetary integration with Moscow appear all the more risky since the economy of Russia itself is far from stable, while the

Kremlin's constant economic innovations and experiments are promising to create in Armenia, where they will be magnified, a state of permanent shock. Furthermore, with its own independent budget, the republic could render all-around economic and financial assistance to Karabakh. It would be logical to assume that in the future such a possibility will be lost. And this will become merely one of the numerous manifestations of its total political dependence on Russia in which Yerevan will inevitably find itself after the conclusion of a monetary union. Understandably, it will be very difficult to eliminate this dependence, possibly even more difficult than it was to get independence from the Soviet Union.

All these circumstances suggest that the ratification of the agreement in Armenia's parliament will not go smoothly. On 27 August the Supreme Soviet presidium discussed the text of a future treaty but failed to come up with recommendations to be submitted to the 13 September Supreme Soviet session. Some members of the presidium strongly criticized the document, in particular Tigran Sarkisyan, chairman of the parliamentary plans and budget commission. In his opinion, it is not too late to return to the idea of a gradual introduction of a national currency, on which the government should concentrate its efforts today. This approach will be defended in the course of parliamentary debate by the National Democratic Union faction to which Sarkisyan belongs. And although the government's plans will be supported not only by deputies from the ruling Armenian Popular Movement, but also apparently by the factions of communists and the Dashnaktsyun party, the discussion of new legislative acts threatens to drag on, owing to the quite possible obstruction by some small but vociferous opposition groups and a number of independent deputies. In addition, it is not completely certain that the idea of a monetary union with Armenia will meet with unequivocal support in the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet: It is enough to remember what difficulties accompanied Moscow's ratification of the Armenian-Russian treaty on friendship and cooperation. Moreover, no one can guarantee that Moscow will really want to preserve the ruble zone. Possibly, with time it will finally come to a decision to preserve the ruble as a purely Russian currency.

In the face of such a prospect the sides agreed that the Russian Central Bank will deliver to Armenia a certain amount of 1961-92 issue bank notes and furthermore will print interim bills for the republic which in fact will be produced a month after the Armenian side presents the prototype and other requisite documentation. Incidentally, Yerevan coped with prototype production in record time—within two days. It was prepared by Grachya Aslanyan, who is also responsible for the national currency prototype. Therefore the new Armenian ruble will resemble the dram. Bank notes of nine different denominations are to be put into circulation, the largest of which will be 10,000 rubles. All inscriptions on the bills will be made in Armenian. The time frame and conditions for the introduction of the new Armenian ruble are not known yet. There is plenty to suggest, however, that the circulation period of this currency could drag out for a long time. By the way, the experience of other post-Soviet states has shown that interim coupon plans and delays over the introduction of their own currency impair the economy in the most negative way. There is no reason to believe that things will be any different in Armenia.

Presidential Adviser Responds to Accusations

LD3108213993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1941 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 31 TASS—A deputy Armenian interior minister and head of the Armenian president's guards service have left for Moscow to meet Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin and discuss the scandalous situation around Sochi businessman and Armenian president adviser for international economic relations Artem Atalyants.

The Sochi police have recently disarmed bodyguards of the businessman, searched his office and confiscated arms and ammunition.

Asked to comment on the situation, Atalyants, who has just returned from a business meeting in Paris, said "it was either misunderstanding or a provocation organized by the Russian Security Ministry," as the businessman had "bad, hostile relations" with ex-Russian Security Minister Viktor Barannikov.

The adviser conveyed his version of Sochi developments. In his words, he received his friend and business partner Yevgeniy Risling from Kuban. The bank, one of whose founders is Risling, demanded that an unfair firm return large sums of money. When armed body guards of Risling came to the firm to receive part of the money they were arrested as blackmailers, same as Risling himself.

"I am absolutely sure of Risling's honestly," said Atalyants, who believes his friend will be freed in ten or fifteen days and the police will apologize.

As for the fuss around Atalyants, he said the Sochi police wished to hold a ballistic examination of weapons carried by his bodyguards. The arms were produced voluntarily, which is confirmed by corresponding documents, with the exception of four automatic rifles left for protection.

The police also demanded the four rifles, received a refusal, searched the office and "was given the weapons to avoid a scandal," said Atalyants.

He noted he enjoys a diplomatic status and is a presidential adviser. Atalyants said the police of Sochi and the Krasnodar territory was informed of his bodyguards, arms and ammunition back in April.

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijanis Surrender Kubatly After Armenian Attack

Tanks Attack 31 Aug

LD3108132693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] While the referendum results were being calculated, on the evening of 30 August Armenian formations occupied the Azerbaijan rayon center of Dzhebrail, situated to the south of Nagorno-Karabakh, and with the support of 18 tanks attacked Azerbaijani-populated localities in Kubatlinskiy rayon [Kubatly] from the east. According to information from Baku, virtually all the villages on the left bank of the Akera river had been seized by the morning of 31 August. Armenian forces are advancing toward Zangelanskiy rayon [Zangelan].

Iranian Troop Movement Noted

PM3108151793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 First Edition p 7

["Own information" report: "Fighting Near the Iranian Border"]

[Text] The mountainous rayon center of Kubatly inhabited by Muslim Kurds and Azeris is under attack on three sides, according to a report from the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Information Analysis Center. Tank columns traveling through the Lachin corridor from Armenia have reached the southwest section of the town. Another column is launching an offensive from the Nagorno-Karabakh rayon center of Gadrut. Hostilities are under way 8-20 km from the Azerbaijan-Iran border. ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's correspondent was told at the Iranian Embassy in Baku that the West—particularly the United States—which is encouraging Armenia and supplying it with armored equipment, is giving no thought to the consequences of the war. In the opinion of Iranian diplomats, Goris—a rayon center on the Armenian border—has been turned into a bridgehead. A militia made up of native Kurds and Azeris is repulsing the incessant attacks.

It has also been reported that Iranian forces and armored equipment have gathered on the border in the combat zone. Tens of thousands of refugees have moved right up to the border. According to a report by a TURAN correspondent who is on this section of the border, Iranian and Azerbaijani border guards have agreed to evacuate the elderly and children from the rocket bombardment zone. They are being housed in special camps set up on Iranian territory under UN auspices. According to certain information, the camps already hold 20,000 refugees, while other reports claim that the evacuation of refugees to safety is only just beginning.

Defense Ministry Cited on Surrender

NC0109091193 Baku TURAN in English 0846 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 1 (TURAN)—To the reports of the press-service of the Ministry of Defense of Azerbaijan in the morning September 1 the Azeri units were forced to surrender Kubatly, which is in the south-west of Azerbaijan.

As the same source reports, last night the armoured units of the Armenian forces launched the attack on Kubatly from the side of Kapan region of Armenia and Gadrut (Nagorno-Karabakh). Late at night the region center was seized by the enemy.

To the preliminary reports, the units of Azeri Army and the refugees are in the encirclement in the north of Kubatly region and continue resistance. To the witness words, the aggressor incinerates the seized villages, and kills the civilians, who couldn't flee.

At the same time the Armenian forces prepare the next large-scale attack upon the last south-west region of Azerbaijan-Zangelan region So, during all the last night and this morning the villages of Zangelan region were intensively shelled from the territory of Armenia. There are numerous victims among the refugees and the civilian population of Kubatly.

At the same time, the concentration of the live forces and military equipment along the frontier-line is being observed.

31 Azerbaijani Hostages Released in Two Months

LD0109102593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] A total of 31 Azerbaijani hostages have been unconditionally released by the Karabakh side in the past two months. Colonel Aleksandr Agasaryan, the chairman of the state commission on issues of hostages and POWs, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent during a telephone call from Stepanakert today that some of them were released as a result of mediation efforts by the International Red Cross, which is constantly monitoring all POWs and hostages kept in Karabakh.

He also said that all 28 Armenians freed recently by the Azerbaijani side on Geydar Aliyev's instruction were seized by the Azeris outside the conflict zone while travelling in long-distant trains. All of them are the citizens of Russia, Georgia, and Armenia; there is not a single Karabakh resident among them.

Reportage, Commentary on Referendum Results

Aliyev Comments on Vote

LD3108164193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1613 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku August 31 TASS—92.9 per cent of the 3,770,000 Azeri electors took part in a referendum on confidence in Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey on Sunday [30 August]. A total of 97 per cent of them passed the vote of no-confidence in the president.

The plebiscite results to be made public tonight by the Central Commission for Referendum were revealed today by Azeri Acting President and Head of the Azeri Parliament Geydar Aliyev in a meeting with CSCE Observer and Representative of the CSCE Bureau for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights Jacques Roussilier.

In the words of Geydar Aliyev, last year's presidential elections involved 76 per cent of the Azeri voters, 59 per cent of whom voted for Elchibey.

In his opinion, the results of the referendum held in accordance with international norms and principles testify to the choice of the people, who voted against the policy of the previous republican leadership.

Aliyev said the results could not be different and stressed "the Azeri people, living through a war and carrying the major burden of care for refugees, has been so long tolerant to the state head, who left his post over two months ago despite the extreme situation in the republic."

He said the people, who also tolerated illegal actions of President Abulfaz Elchibey, does not want them to repeat [as received].

In his turn, the CSCE representative informed Geydar Aliyev of his view of the referendum and said he monitored the process in Baku and the Barda region, where refugees from occupied Azeri territories participated in the plebiscite. He said this category of people could somehow influence the results of the referendum, which he estimated as generally positive.

Roussilier told Aliyev he will prepare a report for CSCE on the basis of his observations and stressed CSCE is ready to help Azerbaijan in development of democratic processes.

Aliyev and Roussilier agreed the next step to stabilize the Azeri social-political situation could be presidential elections.

State Secretary Defines Results

LD3108192493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1814 GMT 31 Aug 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku August 31 TASS—Lala-Shovket Gajiyeva [name as received], state secretary of Azerbaijan, specified the results of the Sunday referendum on confidence in President Abulfaz Elchibey revealed earlier by Geydar Aliyev, acting head of state.

Citing the official data presented by the Central Electoral Commission, she said 3,770,199 took part in the vote, that is, about 92 per cent of the electors. 3,673,978 of them, or 97.5 per cent, voted against Elchibey.

According to Gajiyeva, the National Assembly of Azerbaijan now is to assess the results of the referendum and specify the date of the new presidential elections in the republic.

Replying a query of a journalist, the state secretary said the Azeri leadership had not considered so far the problem of Azerbaijan's joining the CIS. But she did not excluded the possibility of the republic's integration to the Commonwealth.

Significance of Referendum Viewed

PM3108155993 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 1

[Galina Bilyalitdinova report: "'No' to People's Front Regime"—first two paragraphs are Zaur Kadymbekov report]

[Text] A referendum has been held in Azerbaijan, with just one question on the voting paper: "Do you have confidence in Abulfaz Elchibey, president of the republic?"

Today it is possible to state that the plebiscite was valid. The overwhelming majority of voters participated in it. There were no gross violations, so observers recorded. It remains to await the final results.

We asked Ramiz Rizayev, Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary representative in Moscow, to comment on the PRAVDA correspondent's information:

"Azerbaijan is living though a complex time in its history," R. Rizayev said. "On the one hand, Armenian armed formations are continuing their offensive, no longer in Nagorno-Karabakh but far outside it, in Fizulinskiy, Dzhabrailskiy, Kubatlinskiy, and Zangelanskiy Rayons. Over the past month the existing 600,000 refugees have been joined by over 300,000 more from the aforesaid rayons.

"When the republic is awash with blood and its leadership's whole attention is fixed on a most speedy ceasefire and the start of peace talks, the forces of internal reaction are trying to inflame the already complex situation in the country: First Colonel Gumbatov announces the self-proclaimed Talyshsko-Mugan Republic, then the People's Front indulges in destabilizing actions and statements, while certain mass media pick up their spurious statements about alleged violations of human rights in Azerbaijan. Therefore the referendum, in my view, is of tremendous significance for future stabilization in the republic."

Elchibey Dismisses 'False Results'

NC3108131293 Baku ASSA-[illegible] in English 1203 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, 31.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Abulfaz Elchibey doesn't recognize the referendum held as the legally elected President of Azerbaijan, I state that I do not recognise the false results of the referendum and will use every democratic method to avert the coup d'etat [word indistinct] by referendum says the statement of Elchibey spread of APF [Azerbaijani People's Front] press service. Elchibey thinks that the Article 15 of the law on all national vote was violated and that the referendum was non-democratic. There is no doubt that its results will be false.

Elchibey Reiterates Referendum Illegal

TA3108191993 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1600 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Telephone interview with President Abulfaz Elchibey by Hamit Ozsarac of Turkish Radio and Television—live; Elchibey remarks in Azeri]

[Text] [Ozsarac] Sir, we would like to know your views with regard to the referendum in Azerbaijan.

[Elchibey] With regard to the referendum, I had formerly stated that it is illegal, and it is not possible to accept the results since 25 percent of the country is under occupation and 1 million persons are homeless, living in streets, roads, and under trees. There is no democracy in the country and the press is being censored. When my declarations and statements appear in newspapers, those newspapers are withdrawn from the market or the publishing houses are closed. There is no way I can express my views on television or in other channels of communication. The parties' and democratic peoples' statements are being repressed, and they are not given a chance to express their views [word indistinct]. I do not accept the results of this referendum.

[Ozsarac] What are your comments with regard to the United States' announcement that it recognizes you as the legal president of Azerbaijan?

[Elchibey] The United States has declared its views, and I have announced at the press conference that the referendum is illegal and unacceptable. I would have liked the democratic forces in Azerbaijan to be taken very seriously and that this issue be treated like an internal issue of Turkey [as heard], like a [word indistinct] of democracy.

[Ozsarac] Finally, do you have a message for the Turkish world?

[Elchibey] I send my regards and respects to the 60 million Turkish people who are also my brothers and salute and thank the Turkish television and press, which defend the democracy in Azerbaijan.

Authorities Urged To Find Result 'Null'

NC0109111293 Yerevan SNARK in English 0957 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Baku, September 1 (SNARK)—TURAN news agency told SNARK that the referendum commission of [the Azerbaijani] Popular Front [APF] is of the opinion that no referendum took place on August 29.

Press-conference of the Azerbaijani Popular Front which took place yesterday, on August 31, announced that about 20 social and political organizations boycotted the referendum. No more than 18 per cent of the electors participated in the referendum, Tair Kerimli, head of the commission, said.

The referendum which takes place in the regime of the extraordinary situation, can't be called a democratic one. The former President Abulfaz Elchibey was lynched by the existing authorities. Anti-constitution decision of the Azerbaijani Milli Mejlis started the chain of violations of the law.

The Popular Front commission appealed to the official authorities to consider all the reports on the procedure and norm violations in the 29 August referendum and accept the results of the referendum as the null ones.

Comment From Turkey Reported

NC3108135693 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1048 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Baku, 31.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—The statement of Turkish Foreign Ministry on the results of referendum we sincerely which that the results of the referendum, which was participated by a far bigger number of people than it is envisaged in the Constitution, should promote the national unity and welfare of our Azerbaijani brothers and thus, all efforts will be aimed at freeing Azerbaijani lands from the Armenian aggressor, says the statement of Turkish Foreign Ministry, received by ASSA-IRADA from the embassy of this country. Turkey and other member states of CSCE hope that pluralism and democracy which were reigning in Azerbaijan for the last year, will be observed in future.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Comments on Abkhazia, Parliament

LD3008150093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0815 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Interview with State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani in Tbilisi on 30 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, you have not spoken to our listeners for two weeks, during which time important visits to Turkmenistan and Moscow took place. Last week was also quite rich in political events. Yesterday the Supreme Council heard two speeches

dealing with the executive power structure. But before we come to this, I would like to ask you to analyze recent events. I will give you a chronological list of events.

It has been relatively calm in Abkhazia for a month.

On 20 August a new prime minister was elected. The opposition said that this would not solve the Samegrelo problem. Quite the opposite, Irakli Tsereteli [leader of National Independence Party] called for any nomination by Shevardnadze to be rejected.

Also on 20 August Tedo Paatashvili [leader of Khartia-91 group] said that it would be expedient to use Ajaria as a mediator both inside the country and in relations with certain political circles in Russia.

On 23 August Aslan Abashidze, chairman of the Ajaria Supreme Council, and Kobalia, the leader of an illegal armed group, met with Ajarian deputies. It was said that disputes should be solved only through negotiations. Kobalia said he was ready to withdraw his forces completely, if only Georgian Interior Ministry troops were to replace them. As he spoke, Interior Ministry special troops led by Giorgadze were already there.

On 24 August Defense Minister Giorgi Karkarashvili and Kobalia met in Senaki. They discussed the setting up of a politically neutral military unit which, according to Kobalia, would be a guarantor or a safety mechanism for local Georgians. An agreement was reached.

On 25 August Jaba Ioseliani and Interior Minister Temur Khachishvili visited Aslan Abashidze at the latter's invitation. Ioseliani said later that Abashidze had suggested that a commission called Peace and Unity in Georgia be created. Meanwhile, Kobalia seized two fishing boats and demanded tanks in exchange from the Defense Ministry .

On 27 August confrontation between you and some members of the Supreme Counci' reached its climax. You were unable to submit your proposal on the government structure.

On the same day there was talk in the parliament lobby that Russian Defense Minister General Grachev was to visit Georgia.

On 28 August, Dormition Day, the SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA newspaper published a review of the August issue of the TIME magazine issue which said: Russian military intelligence officers meet with opponents of Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze and discuss the possibility of staging protests against him in September.

On the same day we learned that between 0400 and 0500, a characteristic time for Russian military operations, Kobalia's group captured Senaki and Abasha and threatened to bomb Poti from the air, the latter being the most interesting point. Poti is a port which is our vital artery and our country's future.

On the same day a reconciliation [word indistinct] was held in Kutaisi.

This is the chronology of the week's events.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you and good morning. It will be difficult for me to comment on all important events of the past week. One radio address is probably not enough for this. I will try to speak in general.

What are we dealing with? Let us compare the reaction from the authorities with that of the opposition to the peace settlement in Abkhazia, to my personal decision to sign a cease-fire agreement and implement measures aimed at achieving a final peace settlement with the participation of the UN Security Council and, of course, it would have been impossible otherwise, taking into account Russia's peace mission. I think that the key to everything is here. A large proportion of our public have failed to support this peace initiative, which some may say was a compromise or even a concession, superficially speaking. But a concession leading to peace and the restoration of territorial integrity cannot be seen as a failure.

It is true that the process of reconciliation and peace has started. And you are right in saying that this has been the longest period of peace since the war began. I was confident and I am still confident that this will lead us to ultimate peace, an end to the bloodshed and the resumption of peaceful and normal life in this region. All signs of this are there. If we fail to use this opportunity, it will be a most serious crime against history.

However, our opponents said in the beginning that it was a betrayal of Georgian interests and Abkhazia now finds it difficult to renounce its position. I think the key is here. This led to the necessity of appropriate moves in parliament. This position which opposes the peace settlement in Abkhazia prompted the deterioration of the situation in Samegrelo [Mingrelia]. You know that it is not the first time that this happened in Senaki. Similar developments took place two or three weeks ago. They tried to capture Senaki then, but it all ended relatively peacefully.

I believe that peace in Abkhazia has produced tension in parliament and embittered some of our renowned opponents. [passage omitted]

In your question, you mentioned events which preceded this. There were talks with the participation of Aslan Abashidze and our officials. I welcome any initiative coming from Mr. Abashidze which could lead to peace and reconciliation. I also welcome moves by any Georgian or non-Georgian which could avert fratricidal bloodshed. I welcome the fact that Jaba Ioseliani went there and had meetings. There have been other meetings.

Some time ago Mr. Kitovani also went there. However, his meetings had a different perspective. There was a representative of another country present, but that is a separate issue.

I would like to appeal again to Aslan Abashidze, if he is able to do so, to influence these armed formations that are in control of Senaki, Abasha, and Khobi. There was a serious attempt to enter Khoni yesterday. They also said they would enter Kutaisi. If he can do anything to stop these senseless and terrible actions which could lead us into serious trouble, my people and I would be grateful to him.

I thought that the meeting between Gia Karkarashvili and Kobalia was very important. It was a businesslike meeting. When Mr. Karkarashvili returned we had a talk and I welcomed the agreements reached by the two sides. I honestly believed that nothing untoward would happen after that meeting.

You reminded me about events in parliament. It is perfectly clear that parliament's attitude is pointing to the absence of any wish to have a substantive discussion. There are substantive issues that the nation expects to be decided. There was no discussion of these. It revolved around secondary issues or issues relating to ambitions of some groups, members of parliament, and parties. Another day was wasted as a result. You can see that there are more than one or two days that our parliament has wasted.

But such confrontation or, as you said, tension reaching its climax, coincided with these events. And I have often thought about the reason for all our troubles and what we can expect in the future. I did not want to use the word conspiracy today - the word which is so typical of our history. I did not want to use it, since it is difficult to admit that the country has achieved freedom and independence, but still there is room for conspiracy.

In any case, there is no doubt that we are dealing with premeditated and well-prepared actions by a large group of individuals and political parties. In these well-prepared and premeditated actions, Kobalia's group, in my opinion, is playing the role of a tool. There are other serious forces which are opposed or, I would say, hostile toward the authorities, which are behind him and are using him according to their own wishes.

Today I cannot say who they are. I do not want to say who they are. However, the public knows well whom I have in mind. The problem is that there is an impression that we in an inevitable state of war. We achieved freedom, but since then not a day has passed without war. History will tell why this has been happening.

At long last, the Tskhinvali war is coming to an and. And if we had had time to get our breath back, we would have resolved this problem. Although it will take some time, everybody will go back to their homes and the inhabitants of this region will resume a normal way of life. We did not have the time and opportunity to use our chances and establish peace here forever. But this prospect has not been lost yet. This conflict must be resolved. To use high-flown language, yesterday the rumble of cannons stopped in Abkhazia, and somehow we already seem to be bored and here we go again, again war, war in Senaki, Abasha, and Khobi.

Blood has been shed already. Tens and hundreds of our compatriots have been disarmed. There is a great danger to Kutaisi and Samtredia now. Poti is in particular danger. What is this? Is it true that we cannot go on without war? Is it true that we have been destined to shed our brothers' blood?

Last night I was thinking about it all night long. What is our history? Who are we Georgians? If you look through every stage of our history, you will see that on the one hand, there are great and glorious days there, the peaks of our glory, and on the other hand, there is a continuous killing of our brothers, bloodshed, continuous plots, and continuous betrayal. Have we become independent to betray each other invariably and eat each other up and shed each other's blood? I do not want to think that we have retrieved the worst from our history. Do we have it in our genes? Do we have this trait of character in our genes that we cannot exist without rivalry?

I have come here this morning inundated with these heavy thoughts, the heaviest thoughts. But I would like to think that we shall find a way out. As I have told you, dear radio listeners, the most important thing for us now is to overcome this intransigence. It will have very heavy consequences, I said it in parliament yesterday, it will have the most terrible consequences. The inspirers of this rivalry do not comprehend the consequences it will have. It will have an impact on Tbilisi, Kutaisi and, after all, all Georgia will rise to its feet. Is it what you are aspiring to? Is it what you are dreaming about?

I addressed everybody yesterday, my supporters and opponents that if they can do anything, and they have a strong influence, many of them can still instill on the members of armed rallies to act this way and not another way. I addressed them saying please, use all your influence to stop this insensitivity, this stupidity, this ignorance and this horror. It must be stopped, an end must be put to it.

Once and for all, we must finish talking about how one side occupied Senaki today and the next day we freed Senaki, just like, we occupied Tskhinvali or Sukhumi. I am ashamed when we are talking about these things, about freeing these places as if we were going into somebody else's territory. Well, I do not know. This is my thinking aloud. This is my speech as an answer to your questions.

Once again, against the background of these dark events, I would like to stress the initiative of the citizens of Kutaisi. It was a great thing to have done. Let us compete in organizing such events. I dream of the day when Zugdidi citizens will call us and when they come forward supporting unity and integrity. I believe, the day will come too when other parts of our country and their historical representatives will do the same.

[Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, you have just said that our history is full of treachery and conspiracies but this kind of thing has always been stopped by a strong power. One can hear a lot about the necessity for a strong hand and discipline. In one sense hand it is not very clear why the restoration of law and order should mean a strong hand and discipline. We should speak of the restoration of law. Law has no power in the country today. In such a situation, with the powerful opposing rather a large part of parliament, along with the Mingrelian events, could not we say that this is a result of the fact that Shevardnadze has created neither a party nor a popular movement nor a majority in the parliament, as has been suggested by your supporters. Regarding the present political situation, a leader who transcends the parties probably could not exist in Georgia today.

[Shevardnadze] I have thought, at least until today, that if one could talk about a Shevardnadze factor and the like, I would have to assist in the unification and consolidation of our people and political forces. [passage omitted]

But now that I see that the country is dying; I feel that I might be even too late. I have to tell you that in a few days I will make an appeal to have a system of parliamentary majority established. [passage omitted] So, those who wish to do so should stand alongside me in parliament so that we can fight together to overcome the misfortune, the devastating and horrifying wave that is threatening to inundate our country. This is one thing.

The other thing concerns ... [pauses] I think much about it. I sometimes thought it was organically unacceptable for me to think of creating a party. I reckoned that it was not my vocation to do this, and now I think seriously about it. Since internal wars have eroded Georgia, the country, and the land for so many years we probably have to think of political guarantees for freedom, national independence, the unity of the country, and democratic development. Can one man or a group of people be a factor of political guarantees, so to speak? No, they cannot. That is why I have come to the conclusion that Shevardnadze and also others who have certain responsibilities to the country and the people and to God, must take this step.

We must create a political force, a political guarantee which will prevent Georgia from falling into chaos and from returning to a totalitarian regime and a guarantee that Georgia will always follow the path of democratic development.

At a certain stage we will have to speak of a stronger power so that our voices do not tremble when we speak of the unity and overall interests of Georgia. And for all this a political force will probably be needed. I am not ready to tell the listeners what form this political force will take. But I will embark on this step.

I have already carried out a survey. In Kutaisi, representatives of our most brilliant intellectuals, to whom I want to pay homage, approached me and said what I had never imagined they would say: You are obliged to do something, to create something, be it a party or anything you like but you have to save Georgia. [passage omitted]

I believe that if my sympathizers and I make this decision to establish a political body, all people of good will in Georgia, all honest people, all patriots will support this movement or party if you will.

[Oniani] Let us return to the issue of the Cabinet of Ministers. At yesterday's sitting, we heard two speeches at last, one by you and the other by Mr. Dzabiradze's [leader of Republican faction], or rather these were draft resolutions on the structure of the Cabinet of Ministers. The discussion has begun and it will continue in the parliament tomorrow. I would like to ask you the following question: How different is the new structure from the existing one? You also spoke about the shadow economy and I think the ways to fight that are well known. [passage indistinct]

[Shevardnadze] When we speak about a strong power, everyone emphasizes that there must be a strong power. What does a strong power mean? Is only Shevardnadze the power? Can Shevardnadze alone sit and provide the truth and not only the truth. It cannot be expersed in those terms. That is why there must be a government structure that will be an instrument of strong rule. [passage omitted]

I think today we have to establish a Cabinet of Ministers that will cope with the situation existing in the country today. As for an ideal version, let's think about it later.

[Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, yesterday, when you spoke about the structure, you said that Georgia has to acquire the status of a developing country before the end of the year. We remember that part of the present opposition used to speak about this quite loudly. But yesterday, this failed to win any attention. What does the status of a developing country mean for Georgia and what privileges does this offer?

[Shevardnadze] Western leaders promised me that they would support the proposal to grant Georgia the status of a developing country. [passage indistinct]

However, this issue did not attract any attention yesterday. It seems that this section is interested neither in the status of a developing country nor anything else. They have one target, to reach something, something that will satisfy their ambitions. We will realize it later, I think.

I know that they will soon start to say that Shevardnadze is establishing a communist party. No, This will be a guarantor of democracy, if we really arrange it, this will be a guarantor peace, this will be a strong power that will have to bring Georgia to truth and true democratic system. [passage indistinct]

[Oniani] Finally, this question: On the 28th, while speaking in Kutaisi, you said well, Providence wants Georgia to be immortal, Georgia to be unified and

integral, and for Georgia and the Georgian people to be happy. If you excuse me, proceeding from today's situation, do you honestly still stick to this idea?

[Shevardnadze] I believe in what I said but I can clarify it in this way. When speaking of Providence and the Lord, I do not mean blind faith. Our history shows that we could have been wiped out a thousand times but we have survived. However, to get independence we had to wait for 200 years and so many generations missed it, and anyway, I believe that the Lord really wants us to be united and integral.

We have to take into consideration that when the Lord's wish is opposed and complete imprudence is manifested, there is no way out.

We will be really united and really free and really strong if we follow the road shown by the Lord and exercise a sound attitude, but we will be punished for imprudence, envy, and other evil.

Addresses Parliament

LD3108190593 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1310 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Address to parliament by Eduard Shevardnadze in Tbilisi; monitored in progress—live]

[Excerpts] ...Let me comment on some of the speeches [words indistinct]. The warning that printing bank notes will give rise to inflation is a simple fact and no deep economic insight is needed for this conclusion. We must look for a way out. Can we afford to raise people's wages, scholarships and pensions? Even if it is a temporary measure, we must refrain from raising wages. As for the warning that the sums that we will accumulate by doing this will be large, it is not true. We all know it. It is a simple fact. Let me speak, please [words indistinct].

The second issue, allotting sums for purchasing foodstuffs [words indistinct]. The savings banks should give these sums to the persons who will purchase foodstuffs and bring them into Georgia. This system was a bad one in its time, I have not introduced it. This system is still functioning. No production is reaching us, either through peasant markets or the state trade network. That is why the Cabinet of Ministers was forced to make such an amendment, to give the population a little breathing space. Although the sums are large and will entail undesirable negative consequences in the financial system, we do not have another option. If we want to store potatoes, and buy cabbage or tomatoes in order to give the population some respite, I just do not see another way out.

I was vacillating at the beginning when the Cabinet of Ministers was discussing this issue, but now the situation is so dire, and each and every one of us feels it, that we have to look for a way out. So these threats and warnings saying, look, this is what will follow, I know what will follow. Some time ago, when I met the Russian prime minister, he told me that there is a superb crop in Russia, the best ever, and that he does know how to store the crop. He said Russia could buy enough grain to last it not only a year but much longer, but Russia does not want to spend more money than necessary. Russia can allow itself such a decision as it can always buy enough grain supplies for its population. We cannot afford not to buy the minimum amount of grain, to ensure that people do not starve to death. We sometimes think about what other means we could find in three or four years, maybe there will be order, serious order about which we are talking in every draft, be it in Senaki or Sukhumi, a transition to market economy, maybe we will be able to find something.

At the moment, there is great hardship, and you know very well that introducing coupons at such a time and in such a form was an extreme measure. It was not a desirable measure but a necessary one. This is my comment that I wanted to make. Please, do not blame the vice premier for this, it was dictated by life itself and it was a forced step conditioned by the real situation that the country's economy is in.

Some words now about the situation that has developed in west Georgia. If I start analyzing what mistakes were made, then fruitless debates will follow. During the last seven or eight months, after the elections were held and the new cabinet formed, we did everything in our capacity in order to achieve a realistic reconciliation and national integrity. I cannot see the reason why it could not be achieved. I suppose that if we are dealing with the interests of a certain activist on the agenda, then Georgia will not allow it, whoever that person may be, the former one or the present one [sentence as heard]. You remember, the amnesty, the manifestos, personal letters, personal addresses, summit meetings, especially the last meeting. I must say that the negotiations that Ajaria's head, Mr. Abashidze was holding were agreed with me. I knew that he had been promised that the Senaki-Khobi-Abasha highways would be intact. It was agreed on. [passage omitted]

If order is not restored on these highways, then the consequences will be severe. This is not a threat, it is just reality. The situation may deteriorate so much and become so complex that it is difficult to imagine now.

Let us not compete in who wants most of all this issue to be resolved politically. We all do. The political way is the only one. There is only one way out and that is to restore the situation to normal as it was three days ago. Nobody's pride will suffer [words indistinct]. If this does not happen, then, it is difficult for me to speak about it, a disaster, a tragedy may follow as the situation is heavily charged with explosives. [passage omitted]

I am forced to allow the Interior Ministry and the forces of the Interior Ministry to keep in touch with the Defence Ministry And other law-inforcement bodies in order to work out measures which will be necessary for implementation, if Kobalia and the rebels do not accept

what we suggest them. While we still can do something, we cannot allow the fate of the whole population of Georgia to depend on the decision of some group of people; if they want to let the cargo through they do so, if not, they stop it.

Providing the population with grain is the function of the state, and as long as this state and authority exists, this task cannot be delegated to any group [words indistinct] grain, fuel, and the basic foodstuffs, this is our duty and our function. Therefore we cannot relieve ourselves of this responsibility and cannot risk putting the country on the verge of hunger and more disaster.

Now about the structure of the government. Debates on this issue may be interminable. Perhaps we could adopt some kind of structure, be it faulty if you should think so, but let us adopt it and then continue debates. [passage omitted]

I have a lot of comments on the draft bill on authorities which you submitted. You are saying that the executive powers should be stronger. The issue of extra powers has been [words indistinct]. Maybe these powers are not being used today, maybe the head of state cannot or would not use them, but it was parliament that adopted the decision. All that has been lost without trace. There are some amplifications here on the issues of resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers and legal issues which are very interesting; some amplifications about the resignation or release of the head of state or of a deputy. Yes, this amplification is here. Everything is quite right, but if there should be a certain revision in the bill on the authorities, why could not the chairman of parliament go back to the issue of which you are well aware? The chairman of parliament has been elected by the population in the same way as parliament has been elected. I was the one then to have said that the chairman of parliament can be released by a parliamentary majority of two-thirds. But if we consider the situation in Georgia, should we go back to this issue? We have practically made an unlawful decision. If we go back and make relevant changes in everything, then we must think about this issue too, and let us then talk about what you refer to as world democratic countries. Do you know that in those democratic countries, be it president or whoever, he has rights before parliament? Why have we lost this detail? Should we start debating this issue now? Do we have time?

Now, about the draft bill which I submitted together with the prime minister and the group of professionals who had worked on it. If parliament does not accept it, then another decision must be found. Perhaps we could think of another option, say, we find somebody who will work out a temporary plan and we will all follow the temporary plan as it is impossible to work in this vacuum. [passage omitted, asking deputies to go back to the draft bill]

Three pages have been dedicated to the necessity of having vice premiers. There are issues of internal policy, coordination policy, and foreign affairs which are crucial for the country. What are the strategic trends that must be in the field of vision of vice premiers? I think it will make no big difference if we have one more or one less. When we are talking about the issue of establishing vice premiers, we are talking about reinforcing the executive authorities, and improving coordination between the ministries and departments. There are so many problems that need to be dealt with, among them law enforcement, military construction, etc; and also in the sphere of relations with parliament. [passage omitted]

Concerning the department of the youth, life demands that we should have this department. Let us free ourselves from the suspicions that this department will look like the Komsomol. It is not true, believe me. If we think that the youth should be taken care of and attention should be concentrated on it, then we should [word indistinct]. I had this idea but did not dare voice it lest you should think I wanted to restore the Komsomol, but you cannot claim this generation loves the Komsomol. Let us put this issue on the agenda. There are young businessmen among them also. Let us take it into consideration. I think it is worth creating. [passage omitted]

I ask you all, let us not delay the cabinet issue any longer. If possible, let us make a decision, if not, then let us look for another option. I cannot see anybody in Georgia who would suggest that parliament is an ideal system. It is not possible. We must walk step by step toward such a system, taking into consideration the reality. This is my request.

Report on 31 Aug Parliament Proceedings

LD3108235193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Report by IPRINDA correspondent Zurab Dvali]

[Text] The Georgian parliament today is discussing a new draft structure for the cabinet of ministers. In conjunction with that, deputies' groups have also submitted drafts for discussion by parliament.

However, before they were discussed a brief announcement was made by Georgian State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze, who informed deputies that the port town of Poti was virtually cut off. Telephone links with the town have been severed since yesterday. Moreover, 120,000 tons of grain destined for Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan is now stranded at the port. Due to the blocking of the railway by armed Zviadists, it was impossible to move the grain out. Poti was well defended, Shevardnadze noted, however as long as there are no telephone links this complicates Poti's administration from the center. Shevardnadze said that in Tbilisi there were enough stocks of grain for several days.

Nevertheless, despite all these processes, Shevardnadze says that in western Georgia the way out of the situation which has developed must be effected by peaceful means. According to the head of state, Georgian Prime

Minister Kavsadze, acting on his instructions, has been holding talks in western Georgia, during which he proposed that the supporters of the ex-president should withdraw their subunits from the captured towns. The prime minister also informed them that the head of state was ready to meet them (?to discuss) the situation that had arisen. However, according to Shevardnadze, no proposals on the subject had yet been received from the supporters of Gamsakhurdia.

Today's sitting of the republic's highest legislative body was addressed by Deputy Prime Minister Avtandil Margiani, who informed deputies that grain stocks in Tbilisi would last for only three days.

Meanwhile, according to the Georgian interior ministry press center, Mingrelia still remains calm. Both government troops and the armed supporters of the former president are in no hurry to switch to combat operations. However, the railway is still blocked. No talks with the Zviadists provide any positive results.

It was announced that on 1 September in Zugdidi there will be a sitting of the session of the Georgian parliament, or rather what remains of it since Gamsakhurdia's times. Maybe a Mingrelian Republic will be declared then, as has already been stated by a number of news services. It's hard to say at the moment. At any rate, even the head of state said at today's sitting of parliament that he did not have adequate information on anyone's proclaiming a Mingrelian Republic in western Georgia.

Shevardnadze Approves New Cabinet of Ministers Structure

LD0109052793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0000 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Yesterday at the evening session deputies of the Georgian parliament adopted the structure of the new cabinet of ministers. In the opinion of State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze the cabinet system of forming the government is the most acceptable. Shevardnadze proposed dissolving the presidium and handing over its functions to the cabinet of ministers. The new structure envisages the existence of vice prime ministers who will carry out work independently on an interstate level.

TV, Radio Department Receives Sharp Criticism

LD2708194193 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1440 GMT 27 Aug 93

[Text] Tbilisi, 27 [dateline as received]—According to an IBERIA correspondent, the Chief Committee of the Georgian Constitutional-Democratic Party has sent a statement to Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, the Georgian parliament, and Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia. The statement says:

Today, when decisive, radical measures leading the country out of the critical situation are expected from the Georgian authorities, we consider ourselves obliged to raise resolutely a question of the Georgian Radio and TV Department which, while appealing to the nation for unity, in fact makes all sections of the population oppose one another.

The spreading of biased information has been enriched by the fact that the Georgian Radio and TV Department completely ignored the demands of the engine drivers of the Tbilisi Metropoliten. We would like to know whose directions the Radio and TV Department follows if it is subordinate to the state.

The Chief Committee of the Georgian Constitutional-Democratic Party demands that fundamental reforms be effected within the Georgian Radio and TV Department. The reform should stipulate for the replacement of the leadership of the department and we hope that future leaders of this structure [as received] will carry out the duties properly.

Gamsakhurdia Opposes Cease-Fire Agreement in Abkhazia

AU3008163493 Tbilisi IBERIA-SPEKTRI in Georgian 18-24 Aug 93 p 2

[Interview with former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia by Irakli Kenchoshvili in Groznyy, Chechnya; date not given: "In the Opinion of the Persecuted President"]

[Text] **The Georgian journalist Irakli Kenchoshvili offered the editorial office an interview that he had had with persecuted President Zviad Gamsakhurdia a few days ago in the city of Groznyy.**

IBERIA-SPEKTRI, which acts on the principle of granting space to any political or other figure, proposes this interview to its readers.

[Kenchoshvili] **Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] President, as a result of the cease-fire agreement signed in Sochi, there is now a real fear that Georgia will lose this historical land of Abkhazia, from which the Georgian population is already being hounded. On the other hand, what is more desirable than a halt to the bloodshed and the establishment of peace!**

[Gamsakhurdia] Not only our organizations but also the parties in opposition to us that welcomed the arrival of Shevardnadze in Georgia have condemned this treaty. I will emphasize here that we are not against a peace treaty and an end to the war, of which we are being accused by the current rulers of Georgia. Moreover, they are spreading such rumors not only in Georgia but also in Russia and elsewhere. We would like to make some corrections to a few points in this treaty. The first point mentions the withdrawal of all armed forces from Abkhazia. It follows from this point that the entire Georgian population of Sukhumi has to be removed from Abkhazia since, as you know, almost 90 percent of the armed forces there are local Georgians. This is absolutely unacceptable and impossible as this means, to all intents and

purposes, the cleansing of Abkhazia of Georgians. This is what we are opposed to and not to peace in general and a peace treaty. Therefore, this point should be removed.

The second point: According to the treaty, the peacekeeping forces that are to enter Abkhazia under the aegis of the UN are to be brought up to strength with Russian soldiers. As we know, Russia is a participant in the conflict. How is it possible to introduce into the conflict zone as peacekeeping troops soldiers belonging to a side with an interest in the conflict and that, moreover, has taken part in it?! This is the same as sending Serbs into Sarajevo as peacekeeping troops! Therefore, the UN is procrastinating and dragging its feet because it does not know what to do in a hopeless situation. Russia is insisting that its forces be brought into the "conflict zone." The UN has never done such a thing. This will violate its Charter and international practice. The main thing is that the implementation of this point will forever prevent Georgians from stepping into Abkhazia. The same thing will happen as happened in Tskhinvali [administrative center of South Ossetia]: Today, Tskhinvali, to all intents and purposes, has nothing in common with Georgia!

[Kenchoshvili] **Had you been in Georgia, what steps would you have taken in August 1992 when Ardzinba declared himself leader of sovereign Abkhazia?**

[Gamsakhurdia] Under our government, Ardzinba would not have dared to do this. There is an article in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI that presents Ardzinba's position: It states that he was avoiding straining relations with Gamsakhurdia because he knew he would be unable to win as we were the legitimate authorities. Ardzinba only dared to do this in conditions created by the illegal arrival of the present authorities because he knew that these authorities had no legitimacy at all and no support of any kind from the people. Ardzinba also knew that Samegrelo [region in western Georgia loyal to Gamsakhurdia] would not get involved in this war because Shevardnadze's government was illegal. Ardzinba would not have dared to do this in our time.

At the same time, what Ardzinba has done is illegal. He has usurped power. He declared the separatist faction in the Abkhazian Supreme Council to be the legal authorities and assumed such rights that he could not have according to the Constitution; in particular, he revoked the existing Constitution in the absence of two-thirds of the members of the Supreme Council, claimed to have restored the 1925 Constitution, and declared himself leader of these illegally "legalized" authorities. In reality, he is the leader of the faction and has no right to declare a monopoly on power. The clause in the treaty that states that the "legitimate authorities of the Republic of Abkhazia" should return to Sukhumi under the leadership of Ardzinba is a totally illegal act. This is precisely the third main flaw in this treaty whose implementation has occasioned the greatest evil. With this treaty, Shevardnadze has, to all intents and purposes, recognized Ardzinba's government! This treaty has no juridical and legal basis at all. This is a triumph for illegality as this treaty, on the one hand, has been signed, on the Abkhaz side, by a representative of a faction that has usurped power and, on the Georgian side, by the speaker of the illegal parliament of a likewise illegal government.

[Kenchoshvili] **In your opinion, was there any sense in starting this armed conflict in Abkhazia?**

[Gamsakhurdia] None whatsoever!

[Kenchoshvili] **Would we have lost Abkhazia without the war?**

[Gamsakhurdia] The war could have been avoided if Georgia had had its legitimate government. At the same time, the factor of Russian aggression was not taken into account. One way or another, diplomatic maneuvering was necessary but precisely this ostensibly famous diplomat [Shevardnadze] lacks the ability to do this. By his destructive actions, he has brought this historic corner of Georgia and the whole of our motherland to catastrophe.

[Kenchoshvili] **A large military force has now been assembled in Samegrelo under the command of Colonel Loti Kobalia. On the other hand, in Kutaisi, Tbilisi, and other parts of Georgia, peaceful rallies are being crushed, the peaceful population is being persecuted in every possible way, human rights are being violated, and other criminal actions are being committed. Proceeding from this, Batoni Loti Kobalia's forces will possibly want, quite logically, to protect the population. What is your position regarding this matter?**

[Gamsakhurdia] The armed forces of the legal authorities are united around Batoni Loti Kobalia; they are remaining loyal to the oath they have sworn to the president. Therefore, this force is protecting the population as best it can. At the same time, a few days ago, Jaba Ioseliani's "Mkhedrioni" [paramilitary formation now incorporated into the rescue corps] entered Khobi in quite large numbers and with heavy equipment. They are threatening to destroy Zugdidi and other towns in Samegrelo. Khachishvili [minister of internal affairs] has threatened to use the Russian Army, the so-called "spetsnaz" [special-purpose troops] who are stationed in Samtredia. All this shows that they are preparing a second war in Samegrelo. If Shevardnadze's government does not abandon such an adventurist policy, his criminal bands will be destroyed and so everything will end. As for protecting rallies, all measures will be taken to ensure this happens.

[Kenchoshvili] **Can we be more specific regarding this question. Let us say that, in the near future, a peaceful rally is held in Kutaisi and it is again brutally crushed. Could this serve as a motive for Loti Kobalia's guard entering Kutaisi?**

[Gamsakhurdia] Everything is possible. We will see what will happen in the near future.

[Kenchoshvili] **Can we now turn to the second problem that is of enormous concern to the Georgian people. This**

is the country's most serious economic situation. Certain persons are reasoning thus: Yes, we realize that these authorities are using force but Shevardnadze enjoys international prestige and the little food that we have is thanks to him. If it were not for him, we would have died of starvation....

[Gamsakhurdia] This is an illusion! First of all, as is known, Stalin, in the 1930's, artificially caused a famine in Ukraine in order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people and introduce forced collectivization. Such a "policy" is also now being implemented in Georgia. To this one can add the antagonism that exists between these rulers and the Georgian people, which is increasingly exacerbating the economic shortages. The expenses that run into millions on the war not only in Abkhazia but also that are already being prepared in Samegrelo are likewise contributing to this. While these authorities remain in Georgia, the economic situation will become increasingly worse. However, under the legitimate government, once the national economy is revived and a halt is put to the violence of the mafia and criminal bands, the bread problem, the budget problem, and all economic problems will be resolved immediately. At present, the economic problems cannot be rectified because the state does not have the trust of the people. This is not a state that is imbued with love and is competent because everything has been destroyed in it or is in the hands of criminal bands and the mafia. This is why such a situation has taken shape. So, whoever spreads such illusions is deceiving himself and others.

[Kenchoshvili] **You have especially good relations with President Dudayev. In your view, what role would be fulfilled by close economic and political cooperation between Georgia and Chechnya?**

[Gamsakhurdia] As soon as the legitimate government is back in power, the fuel problem will be the first to be resolved. One can say that this is the basis of everything and is such an acute problem in Georgia today. The resolution of this problem will enable us to resolve other problems as well, specifically, the implementation of agricultural work, the gathering of the harvest, the transportation of goods, and other types of problems. I would like to remind you here that, as you know, when we were in power, the construction of a road to Chechnya via Shatili was intensively underway. Only a short stretch remained to be built. Economic ties with Chechnya would become so extensive that this would have an immediate effect on Georgian life. There are no bread or fuel shortages in Chechnya; in general, this is a country that is blossoming economically. From the political point of view, you know that Dudayev enjoys the greatest prestige in the Caucasus and, as soon as the legitimate authorities are restored in Georgia, our joint alliance will strengthen its influence on Abkhazia. At the moment, the Abkhazians are clearly taking Dudayev into account but there is another force—Russia's secret agents—that is operating through Shanibov's so-called Confederation [of Caucasian Peoples] and others who are protecting Russia's interests and who do not want peaceful negotiations between the Abkhazians and the Georgians. However, we—Dudayev and I—are struggling for national reconciliation in the Caucasus.

Here I would like to emphasize one more extremely important point. The basic shortcoming of the Sochi treaty is that it does not provide for national reconciliation between the Georgians and Abkhazians. Russia does not want this national reconciliation and that is why it is not included in this treaty. However, when the legitimate authorities are restored to power in Georgia, this problem will be resolved undoubtedly easily: A real opportunity for national reconciliation between Georgians and Abkhazians will be created. The Abkhazian side has repeatedly stated that it does not want to have relations with the criminal authorities under Shevardnadze and Ioseliani. When the legal authorities are restored, Ardzinba's supporters will not be able to escape from engaging in dialogue with Georgia because the factor of Caucasian unity will be established here, which will force them not only into holding a dialogue with us but also into unifying with us.

[Kenchoshvili] **Batoni President, one "accusation" leveled against your Government was that you were apparently pursuing the path of isolation. The current ruling circles are saying that they have brought Georgia out of isolation. Have relations with the West today really expanded? What is the West's attitude in general today to Shevardnadze's rule?**

[Gamsakhurdia] In the first place, this is a shameless accusation that I was ostensibly conducting a policy of self-isolation! Everyone knows well that the Soviet authorities—the Politburo and Shevardnadze directly, who was Soviet foreign minister at the time—were trying to isolate us from the world. They unleashed an unprecedented campaign against me abroad, accusing me of being a dictator and fascist. This was precisely one form of isolation in my case. I was invited several times to visit western countries—the United States, Denmark, and Switzerland—but they prevented me from going to these places and then cynically spread the information in the West: See, Gamsakhurdia does not want to travel to the West because he favors self-isolation like Enver Hoxha, Saddam Husayn, and others. This is how they were deceiving the world and spreading slander.

However, this has now changed. Today, nobody in the West is calling me a dictator. On the contrary, the way the western press, whose attitude to Shevardnadze is already clearly negative, is now using these terms is Gamsakhurdia the "dictator" and Shevardnadze the "democrat." There was just one article in THE WASHINGTON TIMES in which it was stated in a few words that Shevardnadze wants democracy and that was it. Today, the truth is being written about Georgia everywhere. This is a sign that states have already changed their position but, officially, at governmental level, this is not yet being openly stated because it is shameful: A person who was supported by everyone yesterday and

unanimously called a democrat has suddenly turned out to be a person of a completely different ilk.

His meeting with Chancellor Kohl is significant. Kohl received him well and ostentatiously pledged his support but stated that there would be no investments of any kind in Georgia while the situation remains unstable there. That is to say, while this regime is in existence, not a single businessman will invest in a country where there is no government, law, police, and constitution. This is what is meant by real isolation!

Some Turkish journalists visited me recently and expressed the following fears to me: What will save Georgia? We cannot travel there and work there as we fear for our safety. If journalists and tourists cannot travel to the country, what foreigner will invest his capital there?! The U.S. State Department, which officially declares its apparent support for Shevardnadze, has forbidden its citizens from travelling to Georgia as it is a dangerous to go there. So, from this, you can judge what the attitude in the West is to this regime. This attitude is becoming clearly negative, particularly in Britain. The same can be said about the Swiss and German press. This regime is ravaged in an article published in the German newspaper DIE WOCHE, whose title, incidentally, was incorrectly translated by IBERIA-SPEKTRI: It was called "Evil [utsminduri] Giorgi" and not "Giorgi the Non- Believer." Such letters appear very frequently in the western press. At the same time, there has been a change of attitude toward the legitimate authorities. The old groundless "accusations" are no longer heard. Today, the American and western press is already writing as follows: "A president elected by democratic means removed by undemocratic and criminal methods." For example, THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR published an article entitled "Destabilization as the Key to the Economic Situation," in which it is directly stated that the president elected by the people was persecuted by convicted criminals who brought Shevardnadze to power. It states that the most serious economic situation in Georgia can be explained by the destabilization and the pseudo-Parliament is viewed as a disgrace.

[Kenchoshvili] **One has recently noticed a feeling of remorse among political forces that participated in the overthrow of the legitimate authorities regarding what they did and also advances being made by them toward the latter. What is your attitude toward these political forces and those persons who are ready to engage in dialogue with you?**

[Gamsakhurdia] I would welcome such trends. I have always favored an attitude of tolerance and forgiveness and have always held a Christian position. However, at the same time, I believe that everyone should show by their deeds if they have really changed their stance or not. It is not necessary that they adhere to the position of the "Roundtable" [most prominent party in the former government whose speaker was Gamsakhurdia] but that they recognize the legitimacy of the deposed authorities. Such a recognition will not bring them into our camp; they can remain in opposition. I am not opposed to this and will not be in the future. I recognize them as the opposition and will conduct a civilized dialogue with them. Being in opposition does not mean firing shots at the president and the legitimate authorities. The opposition should criticize and express different views; it has every right to exist. I repeat: If they recognize the legal authorities, I will recognize them as the opposition.

[Kenchoshvili] **What would you say to the Georgian people, taking into account the situation that exists today in Georgia?**

[Gamsakhurdia] First and foremost, I call upon the Georgian people to engage in total disobedience toward the violent authorities. Everyone should participate in getting rid of this government, in forcing it to resign, naturally, by peaceful means. The shedding of blood and civil war is impermissible. We should achieve our aim by means of disobedience in the same way that Honecker was overthrown in East Germany. This should take place through the joint action of the legitimate authorities and the people, the entire population of Georgia. This is the only way out.

[Kenchoshvili] **Thank you.**

Mayor Says Gamsakhurdia Supporters Taking Over West

NC3108134993 Yerevan SNARK in English 0847 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Kutaisi (Western Georgia), August 31 (SNARK)—Temur Shashiashvili, a Kutaisi mayor, told SNARK that the Gamsakhurdia's supporters are in a hurry to establish control over the western Georgia. The Georgian church leaders are on the intentions to organize the meeting of governmental and non-governmental military detachments to put an end to the intenstine [as received] war. The meeting is expected on September 21, at the Gelaty settlement. The desire to capture western Georgia explains the Gamsakhurdia's supporters being in a hurry.

Shashiashvili said that the instructions received by Gamsakhurdia's supporters are to break Kutaisi and take all the measures to do concrete actions.

Further on Gamsakhurdia Forces

MK3108100093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Aug 93 p 3

[Tengiz Pachkoriya report: "Zviad Gamsakhurdia's Supporters Control Seven Out of Eight Districts in Western Georgia. Kobaliya Fails To 'Restrain' His Fighters"]

[Text] More than 20 months has passed since President Zviad Gamsakhurdia was forcibly overthrown but his supporters, especially in western parts of Georgia, have all this time been resorting to various forms of protest

against the present Georgian authorities. Gamsakhurdia's positions are especially strong in Megrelia where armed formations under Colonel Loti Kobaliya's command are operating. Their headquarters has been based in the city of Zugdidi for more than a year now. In recent months the dialogue between Gamsakhurdia's supporters and the present Georgian authorities has begun to emerge. At the beginning of last week in the city of Senaki a meeting took place between Georgia's Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili and Loti Kobaliya. After that, the report about the 28 August events in Senaki came as a shock. According to the official version, a report from the Georgian information and intelligence service (the former KGB), on Saturday, 28 August, at 0500, a group of approximately 300 armed men from Loti Kobaliya's formations under the command of Soso Zhegnti and Kakiy Aliava invaded Senaki. They were accompanied by Igor Normania, people's deputy of the former Georgian Supreme Soviet and former city deputy prefect. The men from Kobaliya's detachment had seven pieces of heavy combat hardware, including three tanks, large-caliber machine guns, grenade launchers, and other weapons. They fired at the city hotel where police headquarters is based, and also the railway station, a savings bank, and the Senaki branch of the information and intelligence service, disarming the policemen, capturing seven pieces of heavy equipment, and taking Police Major General Elgudzhu Butskhrikidze hostage. The report said there were casualties among civilians; four policemen were hospitalized; the buildings of the city hall, communications service, police, information and intelligence service have been blocked; and armed groups of Zviad supporters fully control roads leading to Senaki. A similar situation is reported in Abasha which was entered by an armed group of 100 men under the command of Zhgenti and Normania. The report also says that men from Kobaliya's detachment are making preparations for an assault on the city of Poti, Georgia's sea gate. Sources close to Kobaliya say that Gamsakhurdia is urging him to intensify military operations and that he has expressed discontent that so far "only Senaki and Abasha have been cleared."

On 30 August NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent phoned Colonel Kobaliya in Zugdidi. The latter said that the action in Senaki was caused by the fact that hours before his detachments entered Senaki, Zaza Dzhaiani, a resident of Senaki and a member of Kobaliya's detachment, who was walking unarmed, was killed. Kobaliya believes that he was killed by police stationed in Senaki. According to him, another of his supporters was killed, whereupon it was difficult to "restrain our fighters." Kobaliya believes that the killing is a provocation by those forces that do not want stability. Kobaliya noted that in recent talks in Senaki with Georgiy Karkarashvili, an accord was reached that a battalion of Gamsakhurdia's supporters will be stationed in Senaki, manned for the most part by Senaki residents.

Loti Kobaliya said that his formations have no intention whatsoever of storming the sea port of Poti. He pointed out that the present authorities are fanning up hysteria in the republic against Gamsakhurdia's supporters in western Georgia and against Kobaliya's units.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent also had a telephone conversation on Monday morning with Akakiy Eliava in Senaki who a month ago was appointed military commandant of the city. He reported that Gamsakhurdia's supporters, who control seven districts in Megrelia, will not block railway and road traffic through Megrelia's territory, although there were numerous reports on Saturday and Sunday that railway lines were operating sporadically.

Eduard Shevardnadze briefed the deputies on the situation in Megrelia. He said that Prime Minister Otari Patsatsia, following a proposal from the head of state and at his own initiative, met Saturday with leaders of armed formations operating in Megrelia. The head of state appealed to leaders of armed formations of Gamsakhurdia's supporters operating in Megrelia to leave the cities of Senaki, Abaskha, and Khobi and to think once again about the implications of their action and do everything to prevent a new wave of bloodshed in Georgia; he also warned that otherwise the authorities will take measures to restore order in Megrelia. Monday morning Georgian radio broadcast an interview with Poti Mayor Melia, who said that the city of Poti is reinforced on all sides and that it will never surrender to Gamsakhurdia's armed supporters.

In all likelihood, talks will begin Monday or Tuesday between representatives of the conflicting sides on the territory of Megrelia. A number of Georgian parliamentarians spoke about the need to open a dialogue. Among Gamsakhurdia's supporters are people who will sit down at the negotiating table in order to prevent the further spread of the conflict.

Kobalia's Armed Formations Loot Railway Cars

LD3108210093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1950 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] A great deal of grain has been looted from railway cars on the section of the Khobi-Chaladidi railway which is under the control of Loti Kobalia's armed formations.

The railway lines from Samtredia to Poti, Zugdidi, and Sukhumi remain blocked. Many of the basic goods for the population, and for the people of Abkhazia, have piled up in Poti and Samtredia.

Due to the railway blockage, our armed forces and military equipment have to make a detour to pull out of Abkhazia, and our economy has suffered a loss of several billion [currency not specified].

Poti Mayor Says Situation 'Stable'

LD0109105493 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] Here is an interview with Poti Mayor Roman Melia, which we received from our colleagues in the Alioni [Georgian television] program.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Good morning, Batoni [Georgian polite form of address] Roman. What is the situation in Poti?

[Melia] Despite the fact that the town is surrounded, the situation is stable. Certain restrictions have been imposed because of the emergency situation. For example, cars not registered in Poti are not allowed in the town. Traffic within the town itself is also limited. We have stepped up patrol activities and so on. From a military viewpoint, the town is defended well both from the sea and land, so there is no danger of it being captured. There are sufficient military forces available.

As for the port, work there has practically stopped because all the transport on Poti territory has already been loaded, mostly with grain and flour for Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

Finally, on behalf of the people of Poti, I would like to appeal to everybody who needs Poti to satisfy their political ambitions and to tell them that they will not succeed in their adventure and it would be better for them to forget it altogether. However, if they do take a fanatical step, it will be the beginning of a civil war in the west of Georgia and in Georgia as a whole.

Lithuania

Russian Military Withdrawal Completed 31 Aug

Flag Raised Over Territory

LD3108161693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Excerpt] A military trainload left at 1715 [1415 GMT] the territory of the former 108th Airborne Regiment in the suburb of Panemune, Kaunas, and started moving in the direction of the Lithuanian state border. The train was somewhat late. The state flag of the Republic of Lithuania has been hoisted over that territory. The ceremony of handing over the territory was attended by National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius, Lithuanian Chief of Staff Colonel Stasys Knezys, Kaunas town leaders, and Russian Ambassador to Lithuania Nikolay Obertyshev. At present they are due to arrive in the Lithuanian seimas.

A briefing is due to take place in the Seimas at 1930. [passage omitted]

Last Trainload Crosses Border

LD0109082793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0500 GMT 1 Sep 93

[Text] We have been informed by Stasys Labutis, the director of the Railroad Department at the Lithuanian Ministry of Transport, that the last Russian military unit trainload crossed the state border of the Republic of Lithuania at the Kena border checkpoint at 2345 last night.

Seimas Ceremony Marks Pullout

LD0109152193

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 1630 GMT on 31 August carries a live broadcast of a ceremony in the Seimas to mark the completion of the withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania. The ceremony is opened by Seimas Chairman Ceslovas Jursenas, who invites National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius to speak.

Butkevicius says: "Your Excellency the president of the Republic of Lithuania, [words indistinct] the last Russian military unit has left its place of deployment and in two hours time will leave the territory of the republic of Lithuania. Last year, when on 8 September we signed an agreement and timetable on the withdrawal of the Russian army, there were 34,000 Russian servicemen in Lithuania. Today there is not a single Russian military unit in Lithuania. There are several groups of servicemen remaining who are completing [words indistinct]. The handover of the last Russian military unit [words indistinct]. This stage of work is completed. We have the greatest opportunity to [word indistinct] Lithuania's friendly relations."

President Algirdas Brazauskas then addresses the gathering. He says: "We must pay respect to those who during those long years when Lithuania belonged to the Soviet Union endeavored to defend the interests of their country and strengthen our industrial and agricultural potential and our culture and art. Through the efforts of very many people, Lithuania has survived during these 54 years. It remained its own, Lithuanian. It has been ripening for a revival which started five years ago. The last few years have been special to Lithuania, which has regained statehood and returned to the world family of nations. I would like to recall with good words the politicians of the years of regeneration who have been resolutely striving for the international recognition of our state and negotiating with Russia on the withdrawal of its army.

"In bidding farewell to the Russian servicemen, we hope that their state will continue to advance along the path of democracy, and of economic and social progress. The withdrawal of the Russian army opens up good prospects for the development of good-neighborly relations between the Lithuanian and Russian states, between the Lithuanian and Russian nations. My meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, which is to take place this month [as heard], will open up new opportunities for mutual advantageous cooperation.

"On the occasion of the presence here of the ambassadors accredited in Vilnius, I once again express gratitude on behalf of the Lithuanian people to the democratic states of the world which have supported us in international organizations. Lithuania, together with Latvia and Estonia, will in joining the European economic and political structures do everything in order to maintain good relations with our nearest neighbors.

"On this occasion I would like to express gratitude to our people and leaders who have accomplished a great deal in [words indistinct], first of all, to the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, Minister Audrius Butkevicius and Colonel Stasys Knezys."

Brazauskas concludes: "On this festive day, let us feel that after the withdrawal of the last military trainload from Lithuania the world is becoming better and more just. It is true, there are still many sufferings and injustice, but let us manage our country in a civilized way [words indistinct] and also contribute to progress in the world."

Nikolay Obertyshev, Russian ambassador to Lithuania, speaks next. He says: "I would like to thank the President of the Republic of Lithuania Mr. Brazauskas for good wishes addressed to the Russian Federation. That the Russian Federation under its present leadership is advancing along the democratic path of development is testified to by this day. I think that many of those present here were hardly thinking this morning that the last unit of the Russian army would leave the territory of the Republic of Lithuania. But this has happened, and I will

not exaggerate if I say that this day will go down as one of the most significant days in Russian-Lithuanian relations."

Obertyshev continues: "The declaration coordinated yesterday by the president of the Republic of Lithuania and the president of the Russian Federation notes, among other things, that the withdrawal of the Russian army from the territory of Lithuania opens a clean page in the history of the independent and sovereign neighboring states. This makes possible the development of all-around mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries. The filling in of this clean page in our relations will depend on how we will develop this cooperation. Let us hope that this page will be full of positive deeds, positive decisions in relations between our sovereign states.

"What happened today is of great historic significance. However, nuch work still lies ahead. Let us hope that the Russian-Lithuanian relations will develop only along a rising line. Russia and its leadership are ready for this." The ceremony then concludes.

Defense Minister: Russian Withdrawal Not Ultimate Goal

LD3108200093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Text] Lithuanian National Defense Minister Audrius Butkevicius says the withdrawal of Russian troops is not Lithuania's ultimate goal. Mr. Butkevicius told journalists in Vilnius today that Lithuania sought stability in the whole of the Baltics. According to the minister, Lithuania is extremely interested in the pullout of the Russian army from its fellow Baltic states of Latvia and Estonia. Our aim is to change the (?long time) spheres of influence and to open new possibilities for a fuller integration of Lithuania into Western Europe, said Mr. Audrius Butkevicius.

Foreign Minister on Negotiations Over Compensation

LD3108201493 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1430 GMT 31 Aug 93

[Passage with quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Lithuania wants to start negotiations on the damage caused by the former Soviet troops in the country on a new basis. Lithuania is not demanding money now, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys says. He is taking part in the Baltic meeting of the Nordic foreign ministers in Visby.

[Reporter] The Nordic and Baltic foreign ministers are currently opening their attache cases in the house of the provincial government by the market place here in Visby. The joint meeting of the eight ministers is the second one. This time the Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys is especially satisfied.

[Gylys, in English] "It is a great day in the history of my country because (?free of almost) Soviet army."

[Reporter] This is a great day in the history of our country; we are the first republic of the former Soviet Union we are now free of the Russian soldiers, Gylys said. The reason for his joy is that the last trainload of Soviet soldiers, regarded as an occupying force, is to cross the border today; there were only a few hundred of them left. Lithuanian Foreign Minister Gylys hopes that this event is a good omen for Estonia and Latvia which still have approximately 6,000 and 18,000 Soviet soldiers respectively in their areas.

Gylys adds that Lithuania is to start compensation negotiations with Russia on a new basis.

[Gylys] "In fact, we are claiming that Soviet made damage and we want them admit this fact, we want to begin the negotiations."

[Reporter] We claim that the soldiers caused damage and we want the Russians to admit this. This is the basis on which we want to restart negotiations, Foreign Minister Gylys says. Gylys thinks that the compensation demands, which delayed the withdrawal of the troops, were used by the Russian sources and says that Lithuania does not want money at this stage.

In addition, the agenda of the Nordic foreign ministers' Baltic meeting includes, according to a loosely formulated statement, the security policy matters of the region and other matters between the countries. The Balts will probably present the decisions of their summit in Jurmala last week on their defense and economic relations. It was decided in Jurmala that the target is joint arms purchases, uniform military training, and an economic free trade area. The Nordic countries will presumably note down these targets. What else is said will become clear in the evening when the two-hour meeting is over.

Landsbergis Welcomes Agreement, Notes 'Faults'

WS3108134193 Tallinn BNS in English 1849 GMT 30 Aug 93

[Text] Vilnius, 30 Aug (BNS)—Opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis approved of a declaration issued earlier today on the Russian troops' withdrawal.

"This is a very good decision which can only be welcomed," the opposition leader said.

But Landsbergis pointed out two faults in the declaration. First it fails to mention the documents signed last September "according to which, the troop withdrawal must be completed before Aug. 31."

Second is the issue of compensations, "which, according to the president, will be related to further negotiations, while the declaration says it will be a matter of further negotiations." Landsbergis stressed the importance of the exact interpretation of these phrases.

"It is good that compensations will be discussed," he said. "I also think that the issue of compensations will be recognized as existent. Just as Russia admitted the fact of aggression against Czechoslovakia in 1968."

Commenting on suppositions that a need to sign a pull out treaty disappeared after the declaration was announced, Landsbergis said "most probably it should be this way." He added that the text of the declaration supposedly claims that a treaty was necessary. "This is an insignificant difference in opinions between Lithuania and Russia."

Economy Minister, Deputy Discuss Privatization

WS0109110593 Vilnius LIETUVOS AIDAS in Lithuanian 11 Aug 93 No. 153 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Economy Minister Julius Veselka and Gediminas Vagnorius, Seimas deputy and former prime minister, by Rimantas Varnauskas and Aleksas Bociarovas; place and date not given: "The Minister Would Have Liked To Donate"]

[Text] Albeit unwillingly, Economy Minister Julius Veselka agreed to share his original opinion on the investment coupons invented by the rightists with LIETUVOS AIDAS.

[LIETUVOS AIDAS] You called the distribution of investment coupons among the population an act of economic subversion. Why?

[Veselka] The issuing of investment coupons is the greatest of economic mistakes and has already had, and will continue to have, a sustained impact on Lithuania's economy. First of all, it was a mistake because during the entire Soviet period the most industrious and thrifty part of society, that could be called the Soviet middle class, had saved 7 billion rubles. This was not the nomenklatura. This class had turned its wealth into real estate. If serious economists had thought about that, they had to save this wealth at any cost. The state cannot compel anyone to purchase capital alone for his savings. A person who has earned some money must himself plan how to spend it. The purchasing power of these buyers had to be preserved. It could have been preserved through a single method, that is, by selling state assets to those wishing to buy them, with long-term benefits and according to work record rather than age. The money received for selling state capital had to be used to compensate for devalued savings. After distributing the coupons, nothing was left to compensate for deposits, except to increase the value of investment coupons by force. However, the best capital has already been snatched away, because 80 percent of the population does not know how to use the coupons, except for buying the housing that had to be donated.

Moreover, the mass issuing and selling of investment coupons actually destroyed the system of capital management that requires private property and qualified managers.

[LIETUVOS AIDAS] Why has state property been sold so unwillingly up to now?

[Veselka] Neither self-governments nor branch ministries want these scraps of paper. Everyone wants to sell assets for real money, so that later one could use it for satisfying one's social needs or for investment. The upkeep of the machine that engages in privatization costs no less than half of the revenues we receive from the state capital. We must pay cash to these officials.

[LIETUVOS AIDAS] What is to be done?

[Veselka] Couldn't they admit their mistake? Please, forgive us, all those who have not used their investment coupons, we are annulling them. One of the methods that the government has drafted is to offer for privatization as many objects as possible, in order to extract this mass of coupons from the population. This must be completed by August of next year. We must also step up pressure on self-governments, although there are no effective measures. Local authorities are looking forward to the end of the primary privatization. Few people think that this 10-million sum can become a heavy burden on our budget and on us all at the same time. We will have to compensate again, that is, to take away from the same people through taxes and them give back.

[LIETUVOS AIDAS] What do the inventors say? The next question is to Seimas Deputy Gediminas Vagnorius. Do you agree with Veselka's charges of subversion?

[Vagnorius] His words are strange. We might agree on subversion. However, we must clearly define at once against whom it was directed. It was directed against those who wanted to seize the state assets for nothing by violating the law. It is these people who were disappointed that Lithuanian citizens, who had earned some state property with their own labor, were granted an opportunity to acquire this wealth not only for money but also for investment coupons. They were deprived of the possibility to seize all wealth without control.

I cannot say that all privatization was smooth and good. However, not all people, particularly those who seldom have to do with economy or privatization, know well enough what privatization laws and their execution control and mechanism mean. Privatization laws are not to blame. The problem is that they are either not implemented or are violated. We face this every day, when state assets are being recklessly wasted and parceled out while ignoring all laws. Such instances have notably increased after the Seimas adopted amendments that provide for the sale of equipment in parts or by paying from 5 to 7 percent of its value.

Sometimes not only ordinary people but also certain high officials reason that one can easily combat economic crime, and that it is only necessary to amend the law. However, in this case the best thing would be to add at the end of each law that its execution is mandatory or that it must be executed. In all states, law enforcement

bodies guarantee the observance of laws. If law enforcement workers are not resolute or persistent enough, this gives rise to a number of problems, particularly in such a new thing as privatization. Our state has a lot of problems because privatization is carried out following some other principles rather than the adopted laws. This is not privatization but mere appropriation of wealth. The new owners of these assets are mostly those who have a chance to parcel them, to give them or not to give.

I stress once again: I do not want to claim that we did everything correctly during those years and avoided mistakes. We can clearly see how difficult and complicated the road to reform is. It might have been shorter and easier. I suppose, however, that the problems of privatization should be primarily associated not with the laws but with their execution, because there is no effective control mechanism. This does not depend on the government or the Seimas, but is the matter of the third power, lawyers. The latter are usually independent and subordinate to the majority in the legislature. We should admit that the left-wing majority of the former Supreme Council did nothing to ensure the effective work of these institutions. We are compelled to state today that crime began to spread due to that. It could not be otherwise when they used to firmly stand up for ministers or leaders of self-governments who worked inadequately, and whom we repeatedly proposed to lay off for different violations and machinations. We suggested that several ministers and the leaders of five local administrations be dismissed, because collective farm property was stolen due to their sluggishness and the lack of strict controls. By voting against their removal, the left-wing majority created an atmosphere of acting with impunity. The current authorities have a majority in the Seimas and can seriously combat crime. I think that they lack political determination to begin real work. We can be happy with the first results of the investigators at the Prosecutor's Office that some racketeers were detained. However, these measures are not enough, and this political decision is insufficient for a thorough struggle against organized crime and the spread of corruption.

Concerning the statement that investment coupons could be divided according to work record rather than age, it reminds me of the minister's fussiness and inconsistency. It is easy to philosophize now that one or another detail could have been done differently. However, these are not essential things. We chose a compromise, because some proposed to ignore everything, while others suggested considering work record alone. The key problem is different: If the strict rules of privatization are not restored, and if conditions that ensure the observance of laws are not created, it is obvious that no small amendments will change anything. It was necessary to let people acquire housing for investment coupons because we had to give them a chance to buy some sort of real estate. It did not matter whether this concerned stocks in certain enterprises or apartments.

[LIETUVOS AIDAS] What, in your opinion, is the goal of the minister's speculations on political economy?

[Vagnorius] I would not like to blame the minister for committing some political crimes, because I understand the situation in the present government, particularly in the Economy Ministry. I could only wish that they begin resolving the stockpiled complicated problems more thoroughly.

I sometimes hear at meetings with my constituents that certain ministers do not see themselves as men of state, and they criticize the government as though they were in the opposition. However, they are the ones who can resolve all these problems today. It is high time to stop opposing and get down to work. I also wish that they would fuss less and not look for excuses. This is not serious: Instead of solving problems, they are trying to prove that the latter are nonexistent or that everyone else and all previous governments, but not the current authorities, are to blame.